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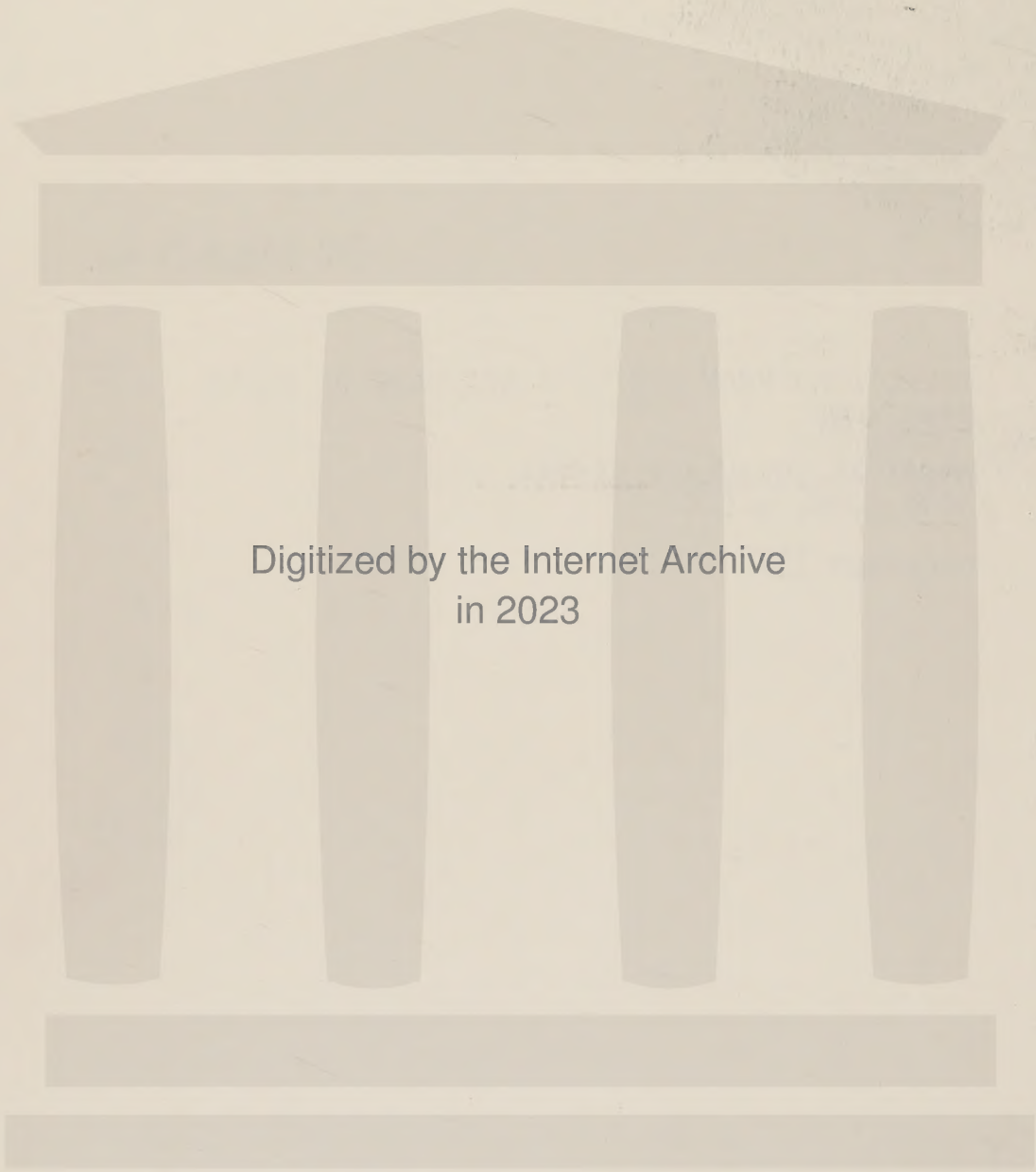

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Selections from People's Republic of China Magazines

American Consulate General
Hong Kong

No. 904-905
Dec. 23-30, 1976

This edition is printed in the United States of America for dissemination in the Western Hemisphere, Europe, the Mediterranean, and the west coast of Africa from material produced by the American Consulate General, Hong Kong. All queries concerning this edition should be sent to:

National Technical Information
Service (152.12)
U.S. Department of Commerce
Springfield, Virginia 22151

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Quotations from Chairman Mao

Chairman Mao wrote to Comrade Hua Kuo-feng in his handwriting, "With you in charge, I'm at ease."

The comrades of the entire Party must unite round the Central Committee. Any act to undermine unity is evil. As long as Communists unite and are of one mind, any powerful enemy and any difficult circumstance will bow to us.

On the basis of concentrating correct opinions, achieve unity in thinking, policy, planning, command, and action, and this is called concentration and unification.

Unite to win still greater victories!

Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire. Don't function as a gang of four, don't do it any more, why do you keep doing it? Why don't you unite with the more than 200 members of the Central Committee? It is no good to keep a small circle of a few. It has always been no good doing so.

You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road.

Chiang Ch'ing has wild ambitions. She wants Wang Hung-wen to be Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and herself to become Chairman of the Party Central Committee.

We need Marxism in our struggle.

Read and study seriously, and have a good grasp of Marxism.

Chairman Mao criticized Chiang Ch'ing, saying: "It's better if we don't meet. You haven't carried out many of the things I talked to you about over the years. What's the use of more meetings with you? The works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are there, my works are there, but you simply don't want to study."

As I see it, those who criticize empiricism are themselves empiricists.

Metaphysics is rampant and one-sided.

In China the struggle to consolidate the socilaist system, the struggle to decide whether socialism or capitalism will prevail, will still take a long historical period. But we should all realize that the new system of socialism will unquestionably be consolidated. We can assuredly build a socialist state with modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture.

Learn from Tach'ing in industry.

Learn from Tachai in agriculture.

Grasp revolution, promote production, other work and preparedness against war.

* * *

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng's Important Speech

- At Ceremony for Laying Cornerstone of Memorial Hall for Great Leader and Teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 3, 1976)

Comrades,

To perpetuate the memory of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the great leader of our Party, our army and the people of all nationalities in our country and the great teacher of the international proletariat, the oppressed nations and oppressed people, the central authorities decided to build a memorial hall for the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung. We are holding a solemn ceremony for the laying of the cornerstone of the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall here in Tienanmen Square today in the capital city of Peking to carry out this decision which conforms to the common aspirations of hundreds of millions of people. After the memorial hall for the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung is completed, the people for generations to come will be able to pay their respects here to Chairman Mao's remains, recall his magnificent contributions, review his teachings, and be touched personally by the education and inspiration that Chairman Mao gave. I am convinced that the workers, cadres, engineering and technical personnel and commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army taking part in this solemn, magnificent construction project will live up to the enormous trust of the Party and the people and successfully accomplish this glorious task.

Since the passing of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Party Central Committee has been carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, persevering in Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and his domestic and foreign policies and leading the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country in waging a heroic and tenacious struggle on all fronts and pushing the proletarian revolutionary cause in China pioneered by Chairman Mao further forward. Our Party has won a great, historic victory in smashing the plot of the anti-Party "gang of four," Wang Hung-wen, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, Chiang Ch'ing and Yao Wen-yuan, to usurp Party and state power. An excellent situation indeed now prevails throughout the country, from east to west, from north to south and from town to countryside. The main indication of this excellent situation is that hundreds of millions of civilians and armymen throughout the country are jubilant, militant and daring, and full of confidence in victory. But we should not be complacent. There are still arduous tasks before us. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country must carry out Chairman Mao's behests, persist in taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, redouble their efforts and continue their triumphant advance, carry the struggle against the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique through to the end, and win new victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Unite to win still greater victories!

* * *

Unite Most Closely Round the Party Central Committee
Headed by Chairman Hua

by

Our Commentator

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 3, 1976)

"The Golden Monkey wrathfully swung his massive cudgel, and the jade-like firmament was cleared of dust." Headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the Party Central Committee, carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, smashed at one stroke the plot of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique to usurp Party and state power, thereby clearing a big scourge of splitting the Party, opening up a new phase of unity for victory and beginning a new chapter to the history of the revolution. Red flags flutter both inside and outside the Great Wall; the multitudes are overwhelmed with joy south and north of the Yangtze. United most closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country are bravely marching in firm step toward the grand goal set by Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao taught us that Party unity is the life of the Party, an invaluable weapon for beating harsh circumstances. To sabotage and oppose the revolution, all class enemies and opportunists of various descriptions always try by hook and by crook to split the Party and undermine its unity. The history of our Party is a history of continually defeating the splittist attempts by enemies inside and outside the Party. For the past 50 years and more, our Party has experienced the danger of a split on ten occasions. However, with the leadership of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, our Party beat the danger of a split on all these occasions and has become more united and stronger. Chairman Mao pointed out in 1971: "Our Party already has a history of 50 years and has gone through ten major struggles on the question of Party line. There were people in these ten struggles who wanted to split our Party, but none were able to do so. This is a question worth studying: such a big country, such a large population, yet no split. The only explanation is that the people, the Party and the entire Party membership are of one mind in opposing a split. In view of its history, this Party of ours has a great future."

On the present occasion, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique also wanted to split our Party. Like all opportunist and revisionist chieftains in history, the "gang of four" are the chief culprits undermining the Party's unity and unification and are the biggest splittists. Politically they betrayed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung and the dictatorship of the proletariat; organizationally they practiced splittism, intrigued and conspired to undermine the Party's unity and unification. They opposed and persecuted Chairman Mao, attacked and framed Premier Chou En-lai and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, and attacked all central and local leading cadres who adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They formed a separate system in the Party, did things in their own way, put themselves above Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, and tried by all possible means to interfere with and sabotage Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and

strategic dispositions. They poked their nose everywhere, fanned up evil wind and fire, sabotaged the Party's centralized leadership, and frantically carried out conspiratorial activities to split the Party. They vainly attempted to plunge the whole nation into chaos so that they might take the opportunity to usurp Party and state power and restore capitalism. Such anti-Party conspiratorial activities of theirs greatly weakened the Party's fighting strength and confronted our Party with yet another danger of a split--a danger made all the more serious than any in the past by the passing of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao had long ago discerned the crimes of the "gang of four" in trying to split the Party and continually exposed and struggled against them. More than once Chairman Mao warned them not to function as a "gang of four." Chairman Mao said: "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire. Don't function as a gang of four, don't do it any more, why do you keep doing it? Why don't you unite with the more than 200 members of the Central Committee. It is no good to keep a small circle of a few. It has always been no good doing so." But the "gang of four" adopted a counter-revolutionary double-dealer's attitude toward Chairman Mao's criticism. While they said nice things to him, they made trouble behind his back. And both while Chairman Mao was seriously ill and after he passed away, the "gang of four" thought the time had come and frantically opposed Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, whom Chairman Mao personally selected to be his successor. They could not wait to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and the state. Their splittist activities developed to such an extent that the whole city appeared to be crumbling under the weight of dark clouds. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country were deeply worried about the danger of a split facing the Party and the state, the danger of the Party turning revisionist and the state changing its color. At this grave historical juncture, the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, identifying itself with the people of the whole country, determinedly smashed with one blow the anti-Party clique of the "gang of four," thus defending the unity and unification of the Party and the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao. This enabled our country to avert a major regression in its history and the Chinese people to avoid a catastrophe and won the wholehearted support and approbation of the people of the whole country. This victory once more shows that the people, the Party and the entire Party membership are for unity and against a split; it proves once again that the Party founded and nurtured by Chairman Mao can foil all splittist and sabotage attempts, that whoever he may be, it will not be easy for him to destroy our Party or split it.

Revolutionary teachers of the proletariat have always stressed the need to safeguard the unity and unification of the Party. Chairman Mao once taught us: "The comrades of the entire Party must unite round the Central Committee. Any act to undermine unity is evil. As long as Communists unite and are of one mind, any powerful enemy and any difficult circumstance will bow to us." The life-and-death struggle against the "gang of four" has enabled us to recognize more deeply that to defend the Party's unity and unification, to unite most closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua and to obey the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua in all our actions--this is the supreme interest of our Party and

state, the common aspiration of the hundreds of millions of people, the important indication of carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, and the basic guarantee for the triumphant advance of the revolutionary cause.

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, the successor personally chosen by Chairman Mao, is a proletarian revolutionary who has come to maturity through the test of prolonged revolutionary struggle. He has consistently held high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and resolutely carried out and defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. He has the noble qualities and outstanding abilities to lead the Party and state as well as the revolutionary boldness and strong stamina to resist the adverse current and beat the truculent waves in a violent storm. The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao wrote in his hand-writing to Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, "With you in charge, I'm at ease," which was a high appraisal for the successor whom he himself trained, selected and arranged. The resounding victory in smashing the "gang of four" fully proves that Comrade Hua Kuo-feng is the most reliable successor to Chairman Mao and the worthy leader of the Chiense people. With such a wise leader as Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, with such a strong leadership nucleus as the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, the 30 million Party members and the 800 million people, united in mind and body under Chairman Hua's wise leadership, will have inexhaustible strength and wisdom. On our way forward, there will be no enemy who cannot be beaten and no difficulty which cannot be overcome. We will be invincible wherever we go, and our country's revolutionary cause will have dazzling and bright prospects.

The Marxist theory on the inter-relationships among leaders, political party, class and the masses profoundly expounds the utter importance of Party leaders, Party leadership and unity to the revolutionary cause. We must conscientiously study this Marxist theory and take full cognizance of the unparalleled significance of our having such a wise leader as Chairman Hua to our Party, our country and the revolutionary cause of the world. We must have boundless faith in Chairman Hua, wholeheartedly support and resolutely defend him.

The basic principle of "three dos and three don'ts," put forward by Chairman Mao, is an important guarantee for the maintenance of our Party unity and unification. The "qang of four" are mortally afraid of and full of hatred for this brilliant directive of Chairman Mao's. We must repeatedly study Chairman Mao's teachings in depth, thoroughly expose and criticize the crimes of the "gang of four" in practicing revisionism and splittism on a large scale and perpetrating intrigues and conspiracies. The more thoroughly the crimes of the "gang of four" are exposed and criticized, the more consciously we will carry out the basic principle of "three dos and three don'ts," defend the Party unity and unification, and rally round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua.

In order to split the Party and usurp the leadership of the Party and the state, the "gang of four" fanned up anarchism everywhere and encouraged beating, vandalism and looting, thereby gravely undermining the Party's democratic centralism and fine traditional style of work. We must firmly act on Chairman Mao's teachings, strengthen the proletarian Party spirit, raise

our consciousness of enforcing the Party's democratic centralism and abiding by Party discipline, and promote the Party's fine traditional style of work. We must sing loudly the "Internationale" and "Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention," and not only sing but also explain them and act in the spirit of these songs, so that under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, we will seriously unify our thinking, policies, plans, commands and actions.

Chairman Mao taught us: "Unite to win still greater victories!" This teaching of Chairman Mao's profoundly sums up the splendid fighting course of our Party over the past decades and points out the way forward in the future. Let us carry out Chairman Mao's behests, unite most closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, and persist in taking class struggle as the key link, adhering to the Party's basic line, and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must make up our minds to struggle hard and redouble our efforts to press ahead on the basis of victories won. We must carry through to the end the struggle against the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique, win new victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction, and strive to make greater contributions to mankind.

* * *

Chairman Hua's Wise Leadership Is a Reliable Guarantee for the Victory of Revolution

by

Chin Hung (锦 洪)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 3, 1976)

The Party Central Committee's decision to appoint Comrade Hua Kuo-feng Chairman of the CCP Central Committee and Chairman of its Military Commission has won the most enthusiastic support of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. 800 million people jubilantly hail: Our Party again has its own wise leader in Chairman Hua Kuo-feng! The wise leadership of Chairman Hua is a reliable guarantee for people of all nationalities in our country to continue to advance victoriously along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The revolutionary people of all countries the world over are truly happy that the Chinese people again have their own leader and new China will thrive and flourish even more.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, a great victory has been won in smashing the plot of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique to usurp Party and state power. The situation is excellent throughout the country. As Chairman Hua points out: "The main indication of this excellent situation is that hundreds of millions of civilians and armymen throughout the country are jubilant, militant and daring, and full of confidence in victory." At present, the masses of Party members, cadres and people have considerably enhanced their consciousness of the need to read and study; a new upsurge in assiduously studying Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works is being launched throughout the country. The struggle to thoroughly expose and criticize the towering crimes of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique is deepening. The "gang of four" have fallen into the vast ocean of oral and written condemnation by people throughout the country. A new high tide of grasping revolution, promoting production and accelerating the development of the national economy is taking shape rapidly. The masses of Party members, cadres and people are at ease, their enthusiasm for socialism erupting like a volcanic explosion. This inspiring scene fully shows that the people, the Party and Party members turn toward Chairman Hua, to the Party Central Committee headed by him.

History is created by the masses of the people. The creation of history by the masses also implies the great role of revolutionary leaders who represent their interests and will and lead them to advance forward. Lenin pointed out: "The masses are divided into classes....that usually classes are led by political parties; that political parties, as a general rule, are directed by more or less stable groups composed of the most authoritative, influential and experienced members, who are elected to the most responsible positions and are called leaders." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 197) Lenin's incisive thesis profoundly shows the relationships among leaders, parties, classes and the masses; it expounds the important position and leading role of revolutionary leaders. The proletarian revolution is a great and arduous revolution without precedent in the history of man, and the

proletariat must liberate not only itself, but also the whole of mankind, thoroughly abolish the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes on earth, eliminate the system of exploitation of man by man, and realize communism. The road to the achievement of this noble historical mission is strewn with obstacles, twists and turns which must be overcome, and the proletariat must have not only its own party but also its wise leader. Without its own wise leader, it will be impossible for the proletariat to win the victory in the revolution, and even if the victory is won, it cannot be consolidated.

The fact that having a leader of the proletariat is a reliable guarantee for the victory of revolution is explicitly illustrated: When the revolution is at a turning point and finds itself in a critical moment of the fierce struggle between the two classes and two lines, the revolutionary leader, farsighted and perceptive and showing scientific foresight and revolutionary firmness, leads the masses to surmount all perils and difficulties and guides the ship of revolution to steer clear of hidden shoals, turn the revolution from danger to safety and go on winning new victories. Dealing with Lenin's great role, Stalin pointed out: "In times of revolution he literally blossomed forth, became a seer, divined the movement of classes and the probable zigzags of the revolution as if they lay in the palm of his hand." (Collected Works of Stalin, Vol. VI, p. 55) When we look back at our Party's history, we will see more clearly the great role of revolutionary leaders. In the course of the Chinese revolution, at every critical moment when the "Left" and Right opportunist lines caused serious harm to our Party and revolutionary cause, it was because we had the great leader Chairman Mao at the helm that we removed all perils and obstacles and steered the slip of revolution steadily to its destination. Following the passing of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" vainly attempted to reject Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, the successor Chairman Mao personally selected, and to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and state. At that time, clouds hung over our country, and there was real danger of the supreme leadership of the Party and state being usurped by the counter-revolutionary revisionists, the real danger of the Marxist Chinese Communist Party founded and nurtured by Chairman Mao turning into a revisionist Party, the real danger of the socialist red power built at the cost of the blood and lives of innumerable revolutionary martyrs changing its color, and the real danger of the Chinese workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and other sections of the laboring masses again falling into the chasm of deep sufferings. At this critical moment, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, with the great boldness and vision of a proletarian revolutionary, carried out Chairman Mao's behests and led our Party to smash at one stroke the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power, win a decisive victory in the struggle of the proletariat to crush the bourgeois offensive, and thus saved the Party and the revolution. In this fierce struggle in which the proletariat defeated the bourgeoisie and Marxism triumphed over revisionism, Chairman Hua performed great merit for the Party, the state and the people, and won the warm approbation of the people throughout the country and the support of the revolutionary people the world over. The fact that Chairman Hua Kuo-feng turned the tide at the turning point of the revolution and carried on the cause fully shows his noble qualities as a wise leader of the proletarian revolution; it forcefully demonstrates how important the role of a proletarian leader is to the future and destiny of the Party and the revolutionary cause.

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. The leader of the proletariat, as the militant bearer of the Marxist-Leninist standard, is good at integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the revolution. At the various stages of development of the revolution, he points out the orientation of struggle, and formulates and implements a correct line, correct principles, policies and tactics. Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, trained and picked by the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao to be his successor, is precisely such an outstanding representative who is good at integrating Marxism with the concrete practice of the revolution and upholds the correct revolutionary line. During the sharp struggle between the two lines in the Party, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng consistently stands on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. During the periods of the new democratic revolution and socialist revolution, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng underwent the rigorous tests of protracted and complex class and line struggle in his capacities as leader at the county, prefectural, provincial and central levels. He has rich experience and outstanding ability in implementing and defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies. Especially during the period when Comrade Hua Kuo-feng was First Vice Chairman of the CCP Central Committee and Premier of the State Council, the struggle between the two lines within the Party was extremely acute and natural disasters were extremely serious. At this most dangerous and difficult moment, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng faithfully carried out Chairman Mao's directives and upheld the three basic principles--"practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." He boldly defended the purity of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and led the whole Party to smash the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power and restore capitalism. With a host of difficulties overcome and dark clouds cleared, the nation was aglow with joy and an excellent situation appeared. All this shows that Chairman Hua's wise leadership has assured that our Party will certainly be able to carry out Chairman Mao's behests, persist in taking class struggle as the key link, uphold its basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, adhere to proletarian internationalism, and implement a series of principles and policies Chairman Mao formulated for our Party, so that continuous victories will be scored in China's socialist revolution and construction and within a not too long period of time China will be built into a strong socialist country.

Proletarian leaders identify themselves with the masses of the people and represent the basic interests and revolutionary aspirations of the proletariat and the masses. Proletarian leaders emerges from mass struggle, and are not self-appointed. They always stand in the van of mass movements, are the guides of the people, and, for this reason, are publicly recognized and supported by hundreds of millions of the people. With its own wise leaders, the proletariat will be able to bring into the fullest possible play the socialist enthusiasm of the vast masses of the people, so that their strength in creating history will be developed to the maximum to assure the triumph of the revolutionary cause. Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, coming from the masses of the people and from the basic level, is most concerned about the masses and knows them best. Both during the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, he has consistently fought among the masses and led them to advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

After the earthquake hit the Tangshan-Fengnan area, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, on behalf of Chairman Mao, led a central comfort delegation there. Defying the danger of aftershocks, he visited the devastated area. He went to the factories and mines and into the sheds. He worked day and night, often without food and sleep. With profound proletarian feelings, he talked to the people of the stricken area and expressed deep concern for them. This vividly showed that Chairman Hua is the bosom friend of the masses of the people. After the passing of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua promptly made the wise decisions on the establishment of a memorial hall for Chairman Mao and on the publication of the Selected Works of Mao Tsetung and the preparations for the publication of the Collected Works of Mao Tsetung. Chairman Hua Kuo-feng also attended the cornerstone-laying ceremony for the memorial hall, made an important speech, and filled in earth around the cornerstone. All of this expresses the common aspiration of the hundreds of millions of people. The great struggle which crushed the conspiracy of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique to usurp Party and state power even more clearly shows that Chairman Hua Kuo-feng is most capable of representing the fundamental interests and revolutionary will of the proletariat and the vast masses of the working people. With the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng removing the big evil for the Party and a bane to the people, the big stone that weighed on the people of the whole country for a time, the socialist enthusiasm of the people throughout the country has soared as never before, and indeed both revolutionary and production fervor is rising everywhere, from east to west, from south to north and from town to countryside.

Proceeding from the viewpoint of historical materialism, the proletariat fully affirms the position and role of the revolutionary leader and looks upon him as the most outstanding representative and symbol of victory of the entire class and its party. Chairman Hua Kuo-feng is the reliable successor to Chairman Mao and our Party's worthy leader in whom the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country place boundless faith, love and respect. With the socialist revolution deepening in our country, people will more and more deeply recognize the great immediate significance and far-reaching historical importance of Chairman Hua Kuo-feng being the leader of our Party. In order to carry Chairman Mao's behests and carry the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by him through to the end, we must observe Lenin's teaching "Defend the Party's leader," and with militant and profound proletarian feelings, resolutely support Chairman Hua, have boundless confidence in him, wholeheartedly love him and vow to defend him to the death. We must rally most closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, obey its orders in all our actions, and, under Chairman Hua's wise leadership, march in step to win still greater victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction!

* * *

Closely Follow Chairman Hua, March Forward Forever

by

CCP Shaoshan District Committee

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 3, 1976)

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng was appointed Chairman of the CCP Central Committee and of its Military Commission, and the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua smashed at one stroke the plot of the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, Chiang Ch'ing and Yao Wen-yüan to usurp Party and state power. When these two pieces of good news reached Shaoshan, hometown of Chairman Mao, the local populace was in a festive mood. The laughter of joy echoed through the peak of the Shaoshan mountains, and singing spread across the Shao river. For more than a month, the masses of Party members, cadres and people in Shaoshan have reveled in the jubilation of victory. Even if we used the pine trees all over the mountain as pens, we could not describe all our boundless happiness, and if we used the vast expanse of the blue sky as a sheet of blank paper, we could not draw all our scenes of festivity. In sum, we say: Oh, Chairman Hua, the people of Shaoshan have boundless trust in you and love you from the bottom of their hearts!

The appointment of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as the leader of our Party was a wise decision of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng is the successor whom Chairman Mao personally trained, selected and arranged before his death. After Chairman Mao's passing, the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng smashed at one stroke the plot of the anti-Party "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power, and saved the revolution and the Party at a grave historical juncture, thus enabling our country to avert a major regression in its history and the Chinese people to avoid a catastrophe. This fully shows that Chairman Hua is worthy of being the successor selected by Chairman Mao, the helmsman pushing forward the revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao, and the wise leader of our Party. With Comrade Hua Kuo-feng in charge of our Party and state, the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao has a successor, this Party of ours has a great future, and our prospects are rosy and bright.

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng had been in charge of Party and government work in Hunan for a long time. He had stayed in Shaoshan on a number of occasions, having extremely close ties with the people of Shaoshan. Recalling Chairman Hua's brilliant revolutionary practice in Hunan and recalling those unforgettable days and nights that Chairman Hua spent in Shaoshan, we deeply feel that Chairman Hua is loyal to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, is good at integrating revolutionary theory with the concrete practice of revolution, and is the leader guiding us to triumphantly advance along the road charted by Chairman Mao.

We vividly remember that not long after Comrade Hua Kuo-feng arrived at Hsiangt'an, Hunan, to take charge of the county Party committee in the spring of 1952, he, a pack on his back, came to shaoshan with several cadres. He lived in the home of a poor peasant who had suffered much in the past, and he brought Chairman Mao's infinite solicitude to the masses of the people. At that time, the land reform movement had been in the main concluded.

After the feudal relations of production were overthrown, where should the Chinese countryside go? To go toward capitalism or socialism? Inside the Party there was a fierce struggle between the two lines. Representing the fundamental interests of the proletariat and the laboring people, the great leader Chairman Mao led the hundreds of millions of peasants to follow the road of "getting organized" and advance toward socialism. But, representing the interests of the landlord and bourgeois classes, Liu Shao-ch'i vigorously advocated "consolidating the new democratic order" and energetically promoted "four great freedoms" in a vain attempt to lead China toward capitalism. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng unswervingly stood on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and led us to take the socialist road. He ardently supported the mutual-aid teams of an elementary socialist nature that appeared in Shaoshan, and at the same time he headed a group investigating the changes that occurred in the rural class relations after the land reform. He used concrete local examples to enlighten and educate the peasants, making them see that only by "getting organized" as Chairman Mao said could they really liberate themselves and graduately change the poor and backward conditions and build a new socialist countryside. After Comrade Hua Kuo-feng became the principal leader of the CCP Hsiangt'an Prefectural Committee, he again came to Shaoshan to work for a short while on a number of occasions. He personally took charge of a class training backbone cadres for the establishment of cooperatives, and organized the broad masses to study a series of important instructions by Chairman Mao on the question of agricultural cooperation, criticize Liu Shao-ch'i's reactionary policy of "suspension," "contraction" and "rectification," and sum up in time the experiences of consolidating old cooperatives and expanding new ones and have them popularized throughout the area. As a result, the agricultural cooperation movement in Shaoshan and the Hsiangt'an area developed wave upon wave. In June, 1955, the people of Shaoshan wrote to the great leader Chairman Mao, briefing him on the excellent situation of agricultural cooperation in Shaoshan. In a reply in his own hand-writing, Chairman Mao expressed his great joy and encouraged us to redouble our efforts. Chairman Mao's reply was a source of tremendous inspiration to the people of Shaoshan, and also was a full affirmation of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's work.

With the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production basically accomplished, however, the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines did not end. In the three years of temporary difficulties, Liu Shao-ch'i took the opportunity and whipped up the evil wind of san-tzu-i-pao in an attempt to restore capitalism. During the fierce struggle between Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng once again led us to resolutely defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, persist in taking the socialist road, and wage an uncompromising struggle against Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. In that period, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, who was then in charge of the Provincial Party Committee, frequently came to Shaoshan and repeatedly urged us to firmly believe that "only socialism can save China" and hold out no matter how violently the "wind of going it alone" might blow. One day in 1961, a "character" from Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters came to Hsiangt'an. He asked Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to attend a meeting and sold him the "experience" of the "output quota system." Comrade Hua Kuo-feng waged a tit-for-tat struggle against him and told him sharply to his face: "This in essence is going it alone, and this road of going it alone we cann't take." No matter how the other side played

with his carrot and stick, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng did not waver in the least since truth was with him, his stand was firm and banner clearcut. It was exactly Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's patient education and correct leadership that the people of Shaoshan resisted the "wind of going it alone," consolidated and expanded the collective economy of the people's commune with every day that passed, and continued to advance along the broad socialist path shown by Chairman Mao.

To have faith in and rely on the masses, maintain the closest ties with the people and serve them wholeheartedly--this is Chairman Mao's consistent teaching and an important mark distinguishing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line from all opportunist lines. The people of Shaoshan are led by their personal experiences to feel that Comrade Hua Kuo-feng in prolonged revolutionary struggles has resolutely practiced Chairman Mao's great teachings and at all times represented the fundamental interests of the proletariat and the laboring people, fully committed to the revolutionary cause promoting the people's welfare and identifying himself with the people. Every time he came to Shaoshan, however busy he was, he always took time out to chat with the cadres and the masses, always so approachable and affable. Many times he refused to stay at a guest house; instead, knapsack on back, he lived in the homes of poor and lower-middle peasants. In April 1968, following the establishment of the Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Committee, it held its first plenary session in Shaoshan, and Comrade Hua Kuo-feng put up in the home of a poor peasant of Shaoshan production team. During the conference, he repeatedly called on the poor and lower-middle peasants to solicit their opinions on the work of the provincial revolutionary committee and brought these opinions back to the meeting for serious study. During his several visits to Shaoshan to study the relevant problems of revolution and construction in Shaoshan, he, as a general rule, first widely solicited opinions, concentrated them among the masses and acted on them among the masses in order to form correct decisions. As he stuck to the Marxist methods of leadership consistently advocated by Chairman Mao, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's directives and decisions were capable of representing the will and aspirations of the masses, conforming to the objective laws of development of things, winning the support of the broadest sections of the people and achieving highly satisfactory results. In the course of building the Shaoshan irrigated zone, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng repeatedly instructed the construction personnel to use little or no arable land and to make full use of the mud obtained from the digging of canals to create new farmland on barren slopes and hills. Under Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's correct command, a huge water-diversion project was completed with large and small channels totalling more than 2,700 kilometers in length. Instead of reducing the arable land by one mow, it added more than 1,500 mow of steady and high yield fields protected against drought and water-logging. In order to enable the masses of cadres to maintain and carry forward the Party's fine style of maintaining close ties with the people, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng has for many years repeatedly admonished us to go deep among the masses and find out their aspirations and demands and not to depart from the masses for a single moment. After the formation of the Shaoshan district Party committee, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng many times talked to its leading members and urged us to bear firmly in mind Chairman Mao's great teaching that "the most fundamental requirement to the reform of state organs is maintaining ties with the masses" and to strive to turn the district Party committee into a combat headquarters capable of leading the masses to fight

and construct. As for comrades working at the grassroots levels, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng showed them even greater concern and often inquired about their work, study and working conditions, encouraging them to work well and not to divorce themselves from labor and the masses. He always warmly commended and encouraged those comrades who persisted in participating in collective productive labor and maintaining close ties with the masses. Chairman Hua is highly amenable to the aspirations and demands of the people, understands the moods of the masses, and shows concern about their livelihood. This explains why he wins the wholehearted love and boundless trust of the people.

While leading the socialist revolution and construction, Chairman Mao formulated for us a series of guidelines and policies, one of which being "grasp revolution, promote production." This great policy of Chairman Mao's was always desperately distorted and opposed by chieftains of the revisionist lines, who sabotaged not only revolution but also production. This was true of the Liu Shao-ch'i renegade clique and the Lin Piao anti-Party clique; it is even more so of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng has resolutely defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and unswervingly carried out the great policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production." He has led us in penetratingly unfolding the mass movement to "learn from Tach'ing in industry" and "learn from Tachai in agriculture" and conducting education in the Party's basic line. Moreover, he has personally investigated and studied the problems of the superstructure and the state of industrial and agricultural production, insisting that revolution command production and promote the vigorous development of industrial and agricultural production, so that the economic base of the proletarian dictatorship will continue to be consolidated. In the past, the chemical fertilizer industry in Hunan was a weak segment in production, and every year chemical fertilizer had to be allocated by the state. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng personally presided over the meeting which called on all related units of the province to concentrate forces on fighting a war of annihilation in manufacturing "small chemical fertilizer" production equipment. In the course of this campaign, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng led the masses of cadres and people to persist in putting proletarian politics in command and carrying forward the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle. He not only carried out penetrating and elaborate ideological work, but also helped solve concretely practical problems in production. As a result, more than 80 sets of production equipment were quickly made, and a large number of chemical fertilizer plants including the Shaoshan nitrogenous fertilizer plant were set up. In 1971, Lin Piao's revisionist line seriously interfered with the farmland capital construction and mechanization in Shaoshan, and Comrade Hua Kuo-feng instructed us not to fall for that sort of stuff but to adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and redouble our efforts at building socialism. That year, under the personal care and direct command of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, the people of Shaoshan started the battle to harness the Shao river. After three winters and springs of hard work, the old Shao river with its tortuous bends and accumulated silt was transformed into a new Shao river with a widened and deep bed. Highly praising the people of Shaoshan for their fervent efforts at harnessing the river, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng said that such efforts were needed in building socialism. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng has constantly urged us to do economic work with an increasingly sophisticated approach. He has frequently inquired about the results of industrial and agricultural production in Shaoshan and given appropriate, concrete instructions on how to develop pig breeding and run the enterprises of communes and brigades

well. All of this has exerted extremely vital effects on socialist revolution and socialist construction in Shaoshan. Practice fully shows that Chairman Hua is a faithful practicer and defender of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and an outstanding Marxist leader. With Chairman Hua leading our Party and state, we are at ease. With Chairman Hua at the helm, the ship of Chinese revolution is bound to steam ahead at flying speed on the lane charted by Chairman Mao.

Shaoshan is the hometown of Chairman Mao and a place Chairman Hua has visited and worked many times and intensively cared for. In 1969, Comrade Hua personally proposed that the Shaoshan district be established within the limits of the second district west of Hsiangt'an County set by Chairman Mao during the peasant movement in 1925, and he personally formed the CCP Shaoshan District Committee. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng has many times instructed us to build Shaoshan into a strong position for the propagation of Mao Tse-tung Thought, a typical unit of learning from Tachai in agriculture, and a model for the future transition from socialism to communism. Chairman Hua's deep concern and repeated teachings are a source of tremendous strength driving us forever forward. We are determined to follow Chairman Hua closely, march forever forward, and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee led by Chairman Hua, strive for the realization of the demands Chairman Hua has imposed on us and for building Chairman Mao's hometown into a still more beautiful place.

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Launch a New Upsurge in Studying Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's Works

by

Our Commentator

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 3, 1976)

Since the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao passed away, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, in carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, have shown greater consciousness in seriously studying the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and of Chairman Mao with a determination to carry through to the end the revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao. This study movement has been given a powerful impetus by the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the State Council and the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee on the establishment of a memorial hall for the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung and the decision of the CCP Central Committee on the publication of the Selected Works of Mao Tsetung and preparations for the publication of the Collected Works of Mao Tsetung. At present, the struggle waged by our Party against the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique is advancing triumphantly. It makes an even more urgent demand on our study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In order to win a complete victory in the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we should make persevering efforts to "read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism" and closely link the study with practice, so as to push forward the struggle which will in turn promote our study. We should launch a new upsurge in the mass movement to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao. This is the basic plan for us to carry out Chairman Mao's behests and to carry the proletarian revolutionary cause through to the end as well as the key to thoroughly exposing and criticizing the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique and eliminating its pernicious influence.

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique totally betrayed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Using the news media under their control, they wantonly peddled revisionism to prepare counter-revolutionary public opinion for their surpation of Party and state power. They distorted and tampered with Marxist theory at will and quoted it out of context to serve their own purpose. They made a mess of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. They vigorously pushed idealism and metaphysics to create confusion in people's minds and seriously undermined the socialist revolution and construction. In order to settle accounts with the "gang of four" for all their vile crimes politically, ideologically and organizationally, to clarify the theory and principles they distorted and tampered with and to reverse the reversal they brought about of objective things, defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and eradicate the poisonous influence of the "gang of four," we need now more than ever to read and study seriously so as to grasp the ideological weapon. Chairman Mao said: "We need Marxism in our struggle." ("Oppose Book Worsship") By grasping Marxism, this political telescope and microscope, we will be invincible and thoroughly expose the various reactionary fallacies of the "gang of four," to tear off their wrappings and thoroughly criticize and discredit them.

Chairman Mao was the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era. In the past half a century and more, basing himself on the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the revolution, Chairman Mao inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the protracted struggles against the class enemies at home and abroad, both inside and outside the Party, and greatly enriched the treasure-house of Marxist theory. During the period of socialist revolution, particularly, Chairman Mao summed up both the positive and the negative experience of the international communist movement, put forward the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and thus solved a major issue in the international communist movement, i.e. the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and the prevention of capitalist restoration. In recent years, Chairman Mao issued the instructions on studying the theory of the proletarian dictatorship and put forward the scientific thesis: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." The struggle waged by our Party against the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique has amply proved the surpassing wisdom and correctness of Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua smashed the anti-Party "gang of four" at one blow--this is a great example of the application of Chairman Mao's great theory.

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique are typical representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and unrepentant capitalist roaders still on the capitalist road. It was directly against them that Chairman Mao in recent years issued the instructions on studying theory and opposing and preventing revisionism. In the current struggle against the "gang of four," we should pay special attention to studying the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and particularly his scientific conclusion that the bourgeoisie "is right in the Communist Party" as well as his series of important instructions on exposing and criticizing the "gang of four." Through both study and practice, we should gain a deeper understanding of the law of class struggle in the socialist period, increase our ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism and raise our consciousness of implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Only thus can we fight against the "gang of four" to the finish, really carry out Chairman Mao's behests, and carry the proletarian revolutionary cause through to the end.

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique out of their reactionary class nature, have an inveterate hatred for Marxist theory. They themselves did not study it at all and showed an acute fear that the masses of Party members and other people would get a real grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. They tried by every means to sabotage the mass study movement. On March 20, 1974, Chairman Mao criticized Chiang Ch'ing with great anger, saying: "It's better if we don't meet. You haven't carried out many of the things I talked to you about over the years. What's the use of more meetings with you? The works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are there, my works are there, but you simply don't want to study." Yet, this gang of conspirators and careerists, to suit their needs in usurping Party and state power, did their utmost to deck themselves up as Chairman Mao's "pupils," pretended to be most eager in

studying Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's works and to show the greatest concern for the study of the masses. They sent letters and materials, issued sinister instructions and made sinister reports everywhere. They tried every trick to mislead and cheat. We must strip them of their guise and expose their true colors as the chief culprits in opposing and undermining the mass movement to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

For a long time, the "gang of four" seriously undermined the fine style of study fostered by Chairman Mao. They opposed the integration of theory with practice and advocated subjective idealism. Posing as "theoretical authorities," they blustered and lectured people at will. Yet what they said was hollow and did not help solve any practical issue. They resorted to falsification, formalism, rumor-mongering and mud slinging. We must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's brilliant documents such as "Reform Our Study," "Rectify the Party's Style of Work" and "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing" and criticize and eradicate the pernicious style of study spread by the "gang of four." Following Chairman Mao's teaching on integrating theory with practice, we must promote the scientific attitude of doing things seriously, seeking truth from facts and being honest and practical, and develop the fine style of study called for by Chairman Mao.

The history of our Party shows that a widespread movement to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought inevitably brings a great victory to the Party and the revolutionary cause. This was true of both the rectification campaign in Yenan and the great proletarian cultural revolution, and the current struggle against the "gang of four" is no exception. The struggle to expose and criticize the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique is bringing about a vigorous development of the mass movement to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao throughout the Party, the army and the country, which in turn will deepen the struggle and usher in new victories. The current situation in our country is excellent. With the deepening of the struggle and the study movement, our country, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, will certainly bring about a new situation in the socialist revolution and socialist construction and win new and still greater victories.

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Deeply Expose and Scathingly Criticize the Towering Crimes of the "Gang of Four" in Usurping Party and State Power

by

Mass Criticism Group of CCP Hupeh Provincial Committee

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 3, 1976)

At present, a mass movement to deepen the exposure and criticism of the towering crimes of the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, Chiang Ch'ing and Yao Wen-yüan in usurping Party and state power is spreading across the country with the force of a violent storm. The "gang of four" have completely sunk into the vast ocean of people's war.

Lenin pointed out: "A person is judged not by what he says or thinks of himself but by his actions." ("Materialism and Empirio-Criticism," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. II, p. 221) What the "gang of four" did fully proves that they are in no way "Leftists" or "representatives of the correct line" as they claimed. They are the typical representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party, unrepentant capitalist roaders still on the capitalist road and the most insidious and vicious bourgeois conspirators and careerists. They betrayed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the basic principle of "three dos and three don'ts" put forth by Chairman Mao, and tried to usurp Party and state power, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. To strip off their wrappings and uncover their true counter-revolutionary features in plotting to usurp Party and state power is an important task in our current drive to penetratingly expose and criticize the "gang of four."

Under the condition of proletarian dictatorship, the fundamental question of the struggle between the two classes and two lines is one of Party and state leadership. The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique waged a desperate struggle against the proletariat because they wanted to usurp supreme Party and state leadership. To realize this long conceived wild ambition, the "gang of four" opposed and tampered with Chairman Mao's directives, undermined the great cultural revolution and the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, and sabotaged the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. They directed the spearhead of attack at Chairman Mao and Premier Chou and at a large number of responsible Party, government and army comrades at central and local levels. In October 1974, before the central authorities prepared for the holding of the Fourth National People's Congress, behind the back of the Political Bureau, they privately sent Wang Hung-wen to see Chairman Mao with a statement of accusation against Premier Chou. They vilified and smeared Premier Chou and vainly attempted to form a "cabinet." But this was severely denounced by Chairman Mao. Later Chiang Ch'ing could not wait to propose Wang Hung-wen to be a vice /sic/ chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. The great leader Chairman Mao discerned the ambitions of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power long ago and promptly exposed them, saying: "Chiang Ch'ing has wild ambitions. She wants Wang Hung-wen to be Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and herself to be Chairman of the Party Central Committee." After our esteemed

and beloved Premier Chou passed away, the "gang of four" cherished even greater hatred against and desperately opposed the wise decision made by Chairman Mao to name Comrade Hua Kuo-feng his successor. They wrote random thoughts and created public opinion; they carried out activities everywhere and established contacts. After Chairman Mao's passing, they became so unbridled in their criminal activities to usurp Party and state power that they went so far as to forge the so-called "deathbed adjuration" of Chairman Mao and openly issue counter-revolutionary mobilization orders in a vain attempt to overthrow the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and usurp the supreme Party and state leadership.

For many years, with a view to usurping Party and state power, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique carried out all sorts of horrible and intolerable criminal activities in practicing revisionism, splittism, intrigues and conspiracies, opposing the Party's basic line, tampering with the proletarian nature of the Party, and sabotaging the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To usurp Party and state power, the "gang of four" openly betrayed Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, opposed the Party's basic line, and did their best to distort the principal contradiction, the main danger and the prime target of revolution during the socialist period. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique first resorted to "shooting out three arrows at the same time" to upset the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius; then, in the name of studying the Confucian-Legalist struggle, they clamored that "many Confucians have appeared in our Party" and that it was necessary to criticize the modern "Confucians" and ferret out the "big Confucians" from the Party. Everywhere they spread the fallacy that "those who are not Legalists are Confucians," using this class and time transcending "Confucian-Legalist struggle" to replace the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and denying that the principal contradiction in socialist society is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In the mass movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, they took empiricism as the main danger and wanted to take opposition to empiricism as the "key link." They openly opposed taking class struggle as the key link and rejected revisionism as the main danger. In the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, they distorted and tampered with Chairman Mao's directives in the name of "amplifying" these directives. With an ulterior motive they publicized what they described as the "inexorable" law of "from a democrat to a capitalist roader," and disclaimed that the prime target of the socialist revolution is the bourgeoisie, with the main emphasis on purging the capitalist roaders within the Party. The "gang of four," by so confounding right and wrong and black and white, had only one insidious aim: to direct the spearhead of struggle at leading cadres at all levels who have adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and are rich in experience of struggle, to knock down a large number of responsible Party, government and army comrades at central and local levels, and to clear the way for them /the gang of four/ to ascend to power.

To usurp Party and state power, the "gang of four" also tried to change the Party's proletarian nature and turn our Party into their "gang's" party, a tool for them to push their counter-revolutionary revisionist line. They not only completely betrayed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought,

the theoretical basis of the guiding thought of our Party, but also practiced splittism on a large scale, extensively engaged in conspiratorial activities, and wantonly undermined the Party's principle of democratic centralism, Party discipline and the Party's three major styles of work. The Party's organizational principle of democratic centralism, Party discipline and the three major styles of work are the important guarantee for the maintenance of our Party's proletarian nature. The reason why our Party is indestructible and invincible and has become "a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the enemy" is that it is founded on the basis of Chairman Mao's proletarian theory on Party building and has adhered to its organizational principle, fine tradition and three major styles of work. But the "gang of four" completely betrayed Chairman Mao's line on Party building, ignored all organizational principles of the Party, formed their own system, went their own way, and placed themselves above Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. They formed mountain strongholds, set up factions, and saw to it those who followed them thrived and those who were against them perished. Defying Party discipline and state laws and doing what they pleased, they gravely undermined the Party's fine styles of work. They pursued an organizational line of employing their own men. Those who leaned on them were admitted into the Party and installed in important posts, no matter who they were. They violated the principle of three-in-one combination of the old, middle-aged and young, did their best to suppress and attack those emerging forces who met Chairman Mao's five requirements for successors. They regarded newly engendered bourgeois elements, greedy speculators, embezzlers and grafters, vagabonds and hooligans as "new-born forces," protected them and appointed them to important positions. They practiced "surprise admission into the Party" and "surprise promotion of cadres," thereby seriously impairing the purity of the Party. This gang of conspirators and careerists looked upon the Marxist-Leninist principle of Party building and the Party's fine tradition and three major styles of work as serious obstacles to their usurpation of Party and state power. They tried to trample them underfoot and undermine them in an attempt to radically change the Party's proletarian nature and turn our Party into a fascist Party under their control.

An important means used by the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power is to make use of the mass media in their hands to create counter-revolutionary public opinion on a mass scale. Chairman Mao pointed out: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." The "gang of four" are the representatives of the counter-revolutionary class. They wantonly distorted and tampered with the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism, blockaded and tampered with Chairman Mao's directives. They set all propaganda machines in motion, confounded right and wrong, distorted facts, laureated themselves as "Marxist theorists," "heroes of the great cultural revolution" and "standard-bearers of the revolution in literature and art," so as to make themselves stand out in publicity. They operated "label-making plants" and "iron and steel plants" on a huge scale, labelling, attacking and vilifying a large number of responsible Party, government and army comrades at central and local levels who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They spared no efforts in peddling idealism and metaphysics, distorting and reversing the dialectical relationships between consciousness and matter,

knowledge and practice, the superstructure and the economic base, the relations of production and the productive forces, leaders and the masses, politics and economics, revolution and production, democracy and centralism, freedom and discipline. They upset Marxist theory and people's thinking.

To usurp Party and state power, the "gang of four" made trouble everywhere. They frantically advocated that "a little chaos makes vitality," saying "there is still not enough chaos" now. They liked to see greater chaos besetting the proletariat. During the great cultural revolution, the "gang of four" hit hard at the many and protected a few, put forth the reactionary slogan "attack by civil means and defend by arms," and incited armed fights to create a general civil war. They went all out to fan up and utilize bourgeois factionalism, split the revolutionary ranks, and incite one section of the masses against another. They stirred up trouble everywhere, set up private liaison points, and prepared sinister "dossiers." They tried by all means to paralyze Party committees at all levels and disrupt the normal revolutionary order. In the guise of opposing the "theory of productive forces," they sabotaged the effort to grasp revolution and promote production and undermined the economic base of proletarian dictatorship. They also drove a wedge between the Party and government, between the army and government, and between the army and the people. They opposed and upset the army in an attempt to destroy our great wall and wreck the pillar of proletarian dictatorship. The innumerable crimes of the "gang of four" in sabotaging the dictatorship of the proletariat and upsetting the life of the people show that they are the sworn enemies of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country.

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique represented in a concentrated way the interests and aspirations of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. They translated the hopes of class enemies for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism into actions for restoration. While they summoned wind and rain above, monsters and freaks in society below whipped up the waves. Internationally, the "gang of four" identified their interests and aspirations with those of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries. They worshipped things foreign and fawned on foreigners, maintained illicit relations with foreign countries, betrayed Party and state secrets, sold out their country for personal glory, and surrendered to the imperialists. The facts show that the "gang of four" have completely betrayed the fundamental interests of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people the world over, and met the needs of all reactionaries both at home and abroad.

While hoisting the revolutionary banner, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique pushed a revisionist ultra-Right line and engaged in counter-revolutionary deals to usurp Party and state power. They created all kinds of false appearance to cover up the reality. But, "since they are opposed to the revolution, they cannot cover up their true image very thoroughly." ("Foreword to 'Materials on the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique'") The basic principle of "three dos and three don'ts" put forth by Chairman Mao, is a summing-up of the experience of the past successive two-line struggles inside the Party, and is a sharp weapon for exposing and criticizing the "gang of four." It is precisely before this magic mirror that the "gang of four" have completely revealed their ugly features and reactionary nature.

Before his death, Chairman Mao had many times criticized them for opposing the basic principle of "three dos and three don'ts," and pointed out incisively: "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire. Don't function as a gang of four, don't do it any more, why do you keep doing it?" Having a guilty conscience, the "gang of four" are extremely afraid of and hostile to the basic principle of "three dos and three don'ts." We must adhere to this basic principle, grasp this weapon, and thoroughly expose and criticize the towering crimes of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique in practicing revisionism and splittism and conspiring to usurp Party and state power.

The Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua smashed at one stroke the criminal plot of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power, and won a great victory in the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, socialism against capitalism, and Marxism against revisionism, thus saving the Party and the revolution at a critical moment. Chairman Hua is worthy of being the wise leader of our Party! To consolidate and develop this great victory, we must, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, boldly arouse the masses to fight a people's war to annihilate the "gang of four." We must not show any mercy to the "gang of four"--these wolves in sheep skin. "With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering foe, and not ape Hsiang Yü the conqueror seeking idle fame." We must carry forward the spirit of beating "the dog in the water" advocated by Lu Hsün, thoroughly expose and criticize the "gang of four," and carry through to the end the great struggle to smash the anti-Party "gang of four."

* * *

The Aim of Opposing Empiricism Is To Usurp Party and State Power

by

Mass Criticism Group of CCP Anhwei Provincial Committee

(Red Flag /Hung-ch'i/, No. 12, December 3, 1976)

The "gang of four," harmful to the country and the people, have collapsed much to the satisfaction of the Party, the army and the people. Under the wise leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, a revolutionary upsurge in vigorously studying Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works and thoroughly exposing and relentlessly criticizing the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique is rising throughout the country. Seriously analyzing the reactionary nature of the "gang of four's" opposition to empiricism is an important aspect of penetratingly criticizing, both politically and ideologically, their crimes in usurping Party and state power and subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the spring of 1975, when the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country were deepening their study of the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat in accordance with the great leader Chairman Mao's directive, the "gang of four," after much secret scheming, went all out in stirring up a gust of evil wind in vigorous opposition to empiricism. First to mount the stage was Yao Wen-yüan, who in an anti-Party article raved and ranted about the need to oppose empiricism. On the day this anti-Party article appeared, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao attended a conference in the army, where he called for vigilance against the "empiricist danger" and taking opposition to empiricism as the "key link." Closely on the heel of this, Yao Wen-yüan, making use of the mass media under his control, had editorials and commentaries published vigorously opposing empiricism. He explained repeatedly that on the question of opposing empiricism, "a few more words should be said, and the meaning made clear," and "be a little more specific." From late March to early April, Chiang Ch'ing, who longed to be an "empress," appeared everywhere and bellicosely alleged that empiricism was a "big enemy at present" and that "one must keep his eyes open, recognize the danger of empiricism, and maintain high vigilance against it." She blustered: "If you practice empiricism, you are finished." During this period, the "gang of four" also dished out the so-called "ten accusations" against empiricism, instructing some places to hold 10,000-men rallies to criticize empiricism. In short, between March and April last year, the "gang of four" raised a hue and cry about opposing empiricism. Did they really want to oppose empiricism? No, not at all. Under the guise of opposing empiricism, they pointed the spearhead directly at the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, the invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and the large numbers of leading Party, government and army cadres at central and local levels who adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, so as to create public opinion for their usurpation of the top Party and state leadership.

The great leader Chairman Mao discerned all this, and in commenting on a report on April 23, 1975, he made the following remarks directed at the crimes of the "gang of four": "It seems the formulation should be: oppose

revisionism which includes empiricism and dogmatism. Both revise Marxism-Leninism. Don't mention just one while omitting the other." "Not many people in our Party really know Marxism-Leninism, some who think they know it, in fact do not know very much. They consider themselves always in the right and are ready at all times to lecture others. This in itself is a manifestation of a lack of knowledge of Marxism-Leninism." This illuminating statement of Chairman Mao's is a scientific summing-up of the historical experience of the two-line struggle in our Party and of the international communist movement. It is a sharp ideological weapon in the fight against revisionism, including the fight against empiricism and dogmatism. It is yet another penetrating exposure and criticism of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao gang in practicing revisionism and splittism and engaging in intrigues and conspiracies.

The anti-Party "gang of four" were so frightened by and mortally hated Chairman Mao's illuminating directive that they took great pains and played all kinds of tricks in continuing their criminal activities to oppose Chairman Mao's criticism against them.

First, they did their best to impose a blackout. After Chairman Mao gave his instruction, the "gang of four" used all means to withhold it and even prevent others from mentioning this instruction.

Second, they stifled mass criticism of opposition to empiricism. At that time, the masses of cadres and people already discerned and resisted the "gang of four's" tampering with Chairman Mao's directive that revisionism is the main danger. When some comrades wrote articles reviewing Chairman Mao's teaching that revisionism is the main danger, Yao Wen-yüan viciously slashed them. At one moment he said that since Chairman Mao's directive had not been formally transmitted, it should not be "cited" in articles. At another moment he said that this question had been discussed before and "some more study should be carried out" as to "how to explain it" now. In fact, this was a false excuse, and the real aim was to prohibit its publication. When some comrades in their articles mentioned Chairman Mao's directive that being ready at all times to lecture others was in itself a manifestation of a lack of knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, Yao Wen-yüan flew into a rage and removed all such references.

Third, they denied what they had said and fought back. In March this year, at a meeting of responsible leaders of 12 provinces and regions she called on her own authority, Chiang Ch'ing, pleading ignorance, said: "I spoke of criticizing empiricism only casually and, moreover, under the condition that I had no sleep. But all the blame has been put on me." What a scoundrel! Besides, she babbled that "in the Chairman's directive, empiricism is still put first." This exposed her ugly feature in continuing to distort and oppose Chairman Mao's directive. Even up to the eve of the "gang of four's" downfall, she still asked some units to print and distribute anti-empiricist materials and persisted in opposing Chairman Mao's instructions.

What the "gang of four" did about Chairman Mao's brilliant directive is a vicious big exposure of their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung

thought, a further indication that their strenuous opposition to empiricism was an out-and-out premeditated, organized and planned criminal act to usurp Party and state power.

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao group is one of careerists and ambitionists. With an ulterior motive, they speculated in the great cultural revolution in an attempt to grab something big. In the latter half of 1974, when the central authorities were preparing for the convocation of the 4th National People's Congress, they thought the time had come, wildly opposed our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou, and attempted to form a "cabinet." Seeing through their scheme, Chairman Mao, hitting the nail on the head, pointed out: "Chiang Ch'ing has wild ambitions. She wants Wang Hung-wen to be Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and herself to become Chairman of the Party Central Committee." In December the same year, the great leader Chairman Mao issued the instruction on the question of theory and further urged the whole Party and the entire nation to persist in the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism, to be alert against people like Lin Piao coming to power to restore capitalism. This touched Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao to the quick. With a guilty conscience, the "gang of four" had an intense fear that they would be doomed if their scheme failed, so they tampered with Chairman Mao's instruction that revisionism is the main danger and unfurled the anti-empiricist banner as a very insidious step to usurp Party and state power.

Throughout the historical period of socialism, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and revisionism is the main danger. This is Chairman Mao's scientific summing up of the historical experience of the proletarian dictatorship at home and abroad, a starting point for us to combat and prevent revisionism, persistently take class struggle as the key link, keep to the Party's basic line and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. For more than 20 years since the founding of the People's Republic, Chairman Mao had led the whole Party and the whole nation to carry out a number of great political struggles. In particular, the great proletarian cultural revolution is a struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, a struggle by socialism against capitalism, and a struggle by Marxism against revisionism. Our struggle to combat and prevent revisionism unnerved all chieftains of opportunist lines, and this is an inevitable reflection of their reactionary class nature. The same is true of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four." They are unrepentant capitalist roaders still on the capitalist road and typical representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party. They practiced revisionism and splittism and engaged in intrigues and conspiracies in a vain bid to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and state. That is why they are afraid of our taking revisionism as the main danger and taking the bourgeoisie and capitalist roaders inside the Party as the prime target of revolution. Lenin said: "To negate revisionism is to cover up one's own revisionism." ("Haste Shows One's Ugliness," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. XX, p. 324) Openly opposing Chairman Mao's consistent teachings, the "gang of four" rejected revisionism as the main danger and instead, advocated that empiricism was "the big enemy at present." This precisely revealed their attempt to alter the orientation of revolution and cause people to

lose their vigilance, so they could achieve their criminal aim of usurping Party and state power, subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring the capitalist system.

In our country, attempting to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and state as Khrushchev did, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique is bound to be opposed by the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. The presence of revolutionary leading cadres who have been nurtured by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, tempered in protracted revolutionary struggle and having rich experience in struggle is a great obstacle to their usurping Party and state power. By describing empiricism as the present main danger, the "gang of four" was trying to use "empiricism" as a cudgel to knock down a large number of responsible Party, government and army comrades at central and local levels. Under Chairman Mao's wise leadership, the vast number of cadres of our Party, especially the many revolutionary leading cadres, have accumulated rich experiences in prolonged struggles against class enemies at home and abroad, inside and outside the Party. They have not only the experience of the democratic revolution but also the experience of the socialist revolution and construction; not only the experience of fighting against open enemies with and without guns but also the experience of struggle against the Party bourgeoisie donning the Marxist-Leninist cloak. Besides, they have the experience and lessons, positive and negative, drawn from many line struggles. They are valuable assets of our Party and people. Historical experience proves that the victory of the revolution would have been impossible without this large number of leading cadres with rich experience in revolutionary struggle to resolutely implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and lead the masses of people to carry out struggle. Out of their deepseated hatred for the cause of proletarian revolution, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao gang of counter-revolutionary elements tried by all possible means to negate several decades of revolutionary history and glorious revolutionary tradition of our Party. They regarded the vast number of cadres, especially leading cadres with rich experience in struggle as a thorn in their flesh and wanted to put them to death to gain complete satisfaction. During the great cultural revolution, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao gang teamed up with the Lin Piao anti-Party clique in "overthrowing all" in an attempt to purge a large number of leading cadres. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the same gang stirred up troubles everywhere, fabricated rumors and distributed sinister "materials" behind the back of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, playing their old trick of "overthrowing all." During the campaign to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, they flaunted the banner of opposing empiricism and absurdly described the practical experience of participating in the three great revolutionary movements as empiricism, vilifying a large number of leading cadres who persisted in taking part in revolutionary practice as empiricists. In the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, they again opposed the directives issued by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, went their own way and engineered schemes to have people "ferreted out level by level." In short, though they continually changed their slogans, they never changed their aim, and from first to last they directed the spearhead at the masses of revolutionary cadres adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. If empiricism were described as the present

main danger in accordance with the counter-revolutionary program and tactics of the "gang of four," then a large number of leading Party, government and army comrades both at central and local levels who have rich experience of revolutionary struggle would become the "main danger" and the "big enemies" and all of them should be knocked down. In that case, they / the gang of four / might freely usurp the Party and state power and restore capitalism. How vicious this wolfish ambition!

Brandishing the big stick of "empiricism," the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique frenziedly directed their spearhead of attack at those leading cadres upholding Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. This is nothing new, however. The renegade and traitor Wang Ming did this long ago. At that time, styling himself as a "100 percent Bolshevik," Wang Ming did not know Marxism-Leninism at all, nor did he understand the actual conditions of the Chinese revolution. He lived entirely on labeling and attacking others. He openly and viciously attacked Chairman Mao's teaching on integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution as "narrow-minded empiricism." He vilified Chairman Mao and the masses of cadres who followed Chairman Mao to make revolution as "narrow-minded empiricists," waged brutal struggle against and struck merciless blows at them in a vain attempt to seize permanent control of the Central Committee. By so doing, he almost lost the Chinese revolution. The great leader Chairman Mao waged a resolute struggle against him, thoroughly liquidated his opportunist line ideologically, politically and militarily, and corrected the course of revolution, thus saving the revolution and the Party. Chang Ch'un-ch'iao and Chiang Ch'ing in those days were the faithful followers and fanatic drummers of Wang Ming's opportunist line, capitulationists who fawned on and surrendered their arms to the enemy. Today, again picking up Wang Ming's tattered banner, Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao do not oppose revisionism but, in the guise of combating empiricism, vigorously oppose Marxism in an attempt to destroy our Party and our country's dictatorship of the proletariat. This is sheer wishful thinking. Chairman Hua, the wise leader of our Party, carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, leads the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to smash the "gang of four" with one blow, thus saving the revolution and the Party and enabling our proletarian revolutionary cause to continue forging triumphantly ahead along the lane charted by Chairman Mao.

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique has done everything bad and lost all the support of the people. Their crimes against the Party and the people are too numerous to cite. A host of facts show that they are big tyrants riding roughshod on the working masses, the blood-suckers brutally exploiting the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, and a group of counter-revolutionary elements who have perpetrated many crimes. Our contradiction with them is one with the enemy, and our struggle against them is a life-and-death struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. We must not be soft toward this bunch of ferocious enemies; to show "mercy" to them is to commit a crime against the people. At a time when the people of the whole country are thoroughly exposing and criticizing the towering crimes of the "gang of four," we must conscientiously study the series of important directives issued by Chairman Mao concerning the criticism of the "gang of four," thoroughly expose the criminal plot of the

"gang of four" in opposing empiricism and wipe out their pernicious influence. We must, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, carry forward the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, press ahead with the victories won, advance courageously, thoroughly expose and scathingly criticize the counter-revolutionary crimes of the "gang of four" in usurping Party and state power, and vow to carry through to the end this great struggle bearing on the destiny and future of our Party and country!

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The "Gang of Four" Are the Chief Culprits in Undermining the Four Socialist Modernizations

by

Mass Criticism Group of the State Planning Commission

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 3, 1976)

Is there a need to build our country into a strong socialist state with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defense and modern science and technology? On this question bearing on the future and destiny of our country, our Party has gone through an acute and sharp struggle against the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, Chiang Ch'ing and Yao Wen-yüan.

To continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and build our country into a strong and modern socialist country is a grand task of socialist revolution and construction at the present stage. The "gang of four" set revolution against construction and, flaunting the banner of "revolution," not only undermined socialist revolution, but also opposed socialist construction and the realization of the four modernizations. They accused anyone who talked about the four socialist modernizations of "using production to suppress revolution" and "restoring capitalism." Whoever went in for socialism committed a crime, and whoever undermined socialism won a merit. The perverted actions of the "gang of four" have caused gave harm to our country's socialist revolution and construction. To thoroughly settle accounts with their crimes of undermining the four socialist modernizations, eliminate their pernicious influence, and guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, to strive to build our country into a strong and modern socialist country is an important task confronting the whole Party and the whole nation.

The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, basing himself on the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, summed up the positive and negative experiences of the international communist movement; inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism; and formulated for us the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. It is a basic task in this period to persevere in taking class struggle as the key link, upholding the Party's basic line and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to build socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. It is a great objective set by Chairman Mao long ago to correctly handle the relationship between politics and economics, between revolution and production and between class struggle and the struggle for production under the guidance of the Party's basic line, to seriously implement the policy of grasping revolution and promoting production, and to build our country into a strong and modern socialist country before the end of the present century.

In 1949, at the second plenary session of the Seventh CCP Central Committee Chairman Mao pointed out that after the victory of the democratic revolution, we must "steadily transform China from an agricultural to an

industrial country and build China into a great socialist state." In 1957, following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, Chairman Mao went further and pointed out: "In China the struggle to consolidate the socialist system, the struggle to decide whether socialism or capitalism will prevail, will still take a long historical period. But we should all realize that the new system of socialism will unquestionably be consolidated. We can assuredly build a socialist state with modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture." ("Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work") At the Party's 10th Congress, in line with Chairman Mao's teachings, Comrade Chou En-lai in his political report said: "We must pursue our Party's basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, unite with all the forces that can be united and work hard to build our country into a powerful socialist state, so as to make a greater contribution to mankind." At the Fourth National People's Congress, Premier Chou explained the tasks for winning new victories in the socialist revolution and reaffirmed the two-step magnificent plan proposed by Chairman Mao for the development of the national economy, namely, as the first step, to build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and national economic system before 1980, and as the second step, to accomplish comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology before the end of the century, so that China's national economy will join the front ranks of the world. To strive to fulfill this grand task Chairman Mao time and again put to us is an important step to realize the Party's basic program and to ultimately achieve communism. This has long been the common aspiration of the Chinese people as well as an earnest expectation of the world's revolutionary people for us.

The "gang of four" opposed Chairman Mao's great call, betrayed the resolutions of the 10th Party Congress and the 4th National People's Congress, ran counter to the fundamental interests and common aspirations of the people of the whole country, sabotaged the socialist revolution, opposed socialist construction, opposed the four modernizations, and opposed the effort to build our country into a strong and modern socialist country. They either willfully distorted or obliterated the militant call of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee for developing the social productive forces and achieving the four modernizations. They obliterated the need to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results, the two-step grand plan, the need to develop the national economy forward, the need to become both red and expert, the need to make the maximum application of advanced technology, and the need to make all our leading organs into committees for the promotion of socialism. They alleged that the four modernizations "merely mean getting several hundred billions of catties of grain or several tens of millions of tons of steel." They slanderously charged that the day the four modernizations were realized would be the time when the red flag fell to the ground and capitalism was restored. This is indeed reactionary and absurd.

After the proletariat seized political power in our country, the development of social productive forces and realization of the four modernizations under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the production of more grain, more iron and steel and more industrial and

agricultural products are not only economic but also political tasks, having immense significance for the consolidation and development of the socialist economic system, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the consolidation of national defense. Lenin pointed out: "The only material basis of socialism is the large-scale machine industry which is also capable of transforming agriculture at the same time." ("Outline Report to the Third Congress of the International on the Tactics of the Russian Communist Party" Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 549) Only with such large-scale industry "can the proletariat consolidate its dictatorship." ("10th National Congress of the RCP (B)," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. XXXII, p. 402) Chairman Mao also pointed out that only by developing the social productive forces more fully could our socialist economic and political systems acquire a more adequate material basis.

It is quite obvious that only by first grasping socialist revolution well and making vigorous efforts to speed up the modernization of industry and agriculture and science and technology will it be possible to raise labor productivity by several, a dozen or several dozen times, to march on production in breadth and depth on a larger scale and at a greater speed, create more and more social wealth, and to better implement the strategic policy of being prepared against war, being prepared against natural disasters and doing everything for the people. Only thus will it be possible to provide a solid material basis for the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship, for the defeat of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat and the triumph of the socialist system over the capitalist system, and for the transition to communism in the future. While babbling about consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, abolishing bourgeois rights and carrying out two transitions in the system of collective ownership in the rural areas, the "gang of four" did their best to oppose the creation of indispensable material conditions for the attainment of these goals. It may be asked: Without undertaking the four modernizations and without developing substantially the social productive forces, how can we gradually raise the level of public ownership in the system of collective ownership and effect the gradual transition from two kinds of public ownership to a single ownership by the whole people? How can we gradually reduce and eventually eliminate the three major differences? How can we gradually increase the factors for distribution according to needs so that in the future the transition may be effected from "each according to his ability, to each according to his work" to "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs"? Since they opposed the four modernizations and opposed the development of socialist production, isn't what they said about abolishing bourgeois rights and realizing communism nothing but idealist humbuggery? What they did, far from strengthening the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat, was obviously intended to disintegrate the socialist economy and destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat! The red flag fell to the ground in the Soviet Union because the Soviet revisionist renegade clique usurped the supreme party and state leadership and pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. When we uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, keep to the socialist road, and criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie, we will be able to hold high the red flag, send the satellite to the sky and build a powerful and modern socialist country. Indeed, the day the "gang of four" succeeded in opposing the four socialist modernizations and undermining the socialist revolution and construction would be the day when capitalism was restored.

To undermine the four modernizations, the "gang of four" also created all kinds of fallacies to oppose Chairman Mao's great policy of "grasping revolution, promoting production" and attack the socialist enthusiasm of the cadres and masses, and tried their utmost to obstruct the development of socialist production and wreck socialist construction.

"You are practicing the theory of productive forces." This is a big club they brandished. Anyone who persisted in grasping revolution and promoting production would be struck a blow.

What is this "theory of productive forces"? The "theory of productive forces" refers to that revisionist fallacy which one-sidedly emphasizes the role of productive forces, regards it as the only decisive factor of social development, negates the reactions of the relations of production and the superstructure, attempts to abolish class struggle, and opposes the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. Chairman Mao taught us: Politics is the commander, the soul. "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work." To build our country into a strong and modern socialist state, we must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, insist on putting proletarian politics in command, persist in the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie, particularly the bourgeoisie inside the Party, persevere in the socialist revolution in the superstructure and in the relations of production, and put revolution in command of production and politics in command of economics. We must not waver on this score at any time. However, opposing the "theory of productive forces" can in no way be construed as opposing the promotion of production or the four modernizations. Historical materialism fully affirms the reaction of the superstructure on the economic base and of the relations of production on the productive forces and that under given conditions, this role is manifested as the principal and decisive role. But at the same time, it always maintains that the role of the productive forces in regard to the production relations and that of the economic base in regard to the superstructure are generally manifested as the principal and decisive role. The reason is very simple: People must eat and drink, have clothes and shelter, and must first of all engage in production activity before they can engage in political, scientific, artistic and other activities. Man's production activity is the most fundamental practical activity, the determinant of all other activities. To strive to develop socialist production well is one of the basic tasks of proletarian dictatorship, the glorious and sacred duty of the working class and all other laboring people. The more and faster socialist production is developed, the better. In identifying the promotion of production with the "theory of productive forces," the "gang of four" deliberately created confusion to sabotage the four modernizations, maliciously distorted the policy of grasping revolution and promoting production, and openly betrayed historical materialism.

"If revolution is carried out well, production may be permitted to go down." This is another fallacy of theirs to sabotage the policy of grasping revolution and promoting production. They babbled: "We would rather grow socialist weeds than capitalist seedlings," and "we would rather have socialist low speed than capitalist high speed." They even raved: So long as class struggle was grasped well, "factories may not produce products" and "it doesn't matter if farms harvest no grain." What a preposterous logic.

If revolution is carried out well, how can production go down? If we keep to the socialist road, how can we grow "weeds" and advance at a "low speed"? You, Sirs, claim to be "consistently correct leftists," but why did you identify such things as "seedlings" and "high speed" with capitalism, and "weeds," "low speed," and so forth with socialism? By so deprecating socialism and glorifying capitalism, are you any different from the imperialists, revisionists,reactionaries and the bourgeois rightists? Revolution means liberation of the productive forces. Since ancient times, there has been no genuine revolution that has failed to give a powerful impetus to the development of the social productive forces. The socialist revolution is the most profound and extensive revolution in history and opens up a broad path for the development of the productive forces. Do we not have the most forceful proof in the fact that since the liberation, driven by the socialist revolution, our country's social productive forces have developed at a high speed and remarkable achievements have been made for the four modernizations? The same is true when viewed from a single region or unit. Where rev lution is carried out well, production surely grows fast; where production is a mess, the revolution is problematical. The "gang of four" alleged that: "when revolution in carried out well, production may be permitted to go down." Let us ask: What kind of socialist enterprises do we have if factories do not produce and farms do not grow grain? If all enterprises cease to produce, how can we solve the problems of clothing, food and housing? If we had yielded to you, not only would the revolution be lost, but even society would perish. It had been Chairman Mao's consistent policy to grasp revolution and promote production. During the agricultural cooperation movement, the socialist education movement, the great cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, Chairman Mao always stressed the need both to make a success of revolution and to increase production without neglecting neither. The "gang of four," opposing Chairman Mao's consistent teachings, proclaimed that "revolution" might disrupt production. Their "revolution" was in fact a counter-revolution that would bring calamities to the country and the people!

"Don't produce for the erroneous line," and "don't produce for the capitalist roaders." This is a slogan used by the "gang of four" to openly incite suspension of production and work. The "gang of four" and their lackeys cried aloud that "If the question of line were not solved, more products produced would lay the foundation for capitalist restoration." "To push production upward is to put powder on the face of the capitalist roaders." This too is extremely reactionary and absurd.

Since the liberation, under Chairman Mao's leadership, our Party has crushed the interference and sabotage by successive revisionist lines, and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has always occupied the dominant position throughout the country. Our Party is a great, glorious and correct Marxist-Leninist party. Our state is a state of proletarian dictatorship. Our economic system is a socialist economic system based on public ownership. By calling on people "not to produce for the erroneous line" and "not to produce for the capitalist roaders," didn't the "gang of four" openly negate the dominant position of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line? Didn't they viciously vilify China's proletarian dictatorship and socialist system?

It should be pointed out that in a very small number of units and places capitalist roaders have indeed usurped the leadership and pushed a revisionist line. The masses of people there should all the more stick to the policy of grasping revolution and promoting production, rise up to rebel against the capitalist roaders, resist and criticize their revisionist line, and do a good job of production according to socialist principles and the unified plans of the state. Social production is an integral whole. If one unit stops production, it will affect the normal functioning of many other units. Every enterprise which produces according to state plans produces for socialism, for the country of proletarian dictatorship and for the interests of the people. How can we describe this as "laying the foundation for capitalist restoration" and "putting powder on the face of the capitalist roaders"? The "gang of four" drew a line around them. Anyone who resisted and opposed them would be accused of following the "erroneous line." What they meant by "not producing for the erroneous line" was to prohibit production for socialism and revolution.

The "gang of four," in frantically undermining the four modernizations and socialist production, had the criminal aim of usurping Party and state power and restoring capitalism.

The "gang of four" did not take care of production, yet they tried their utmost to sabotage production and accuse anyone who grasped revolution and promoted production, anyone who promoted the four modernizations, of practicing the "theory of productive forces" and restoring capitalism. In doing so, their vicious purpose was to oppose Chairman Mao and the respected and beloved Premier Chou, and to brand a large number of responsible comrades at central and local levels,who have followed Chairman Mao in making revolution and resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, as revisionists and capitalist roaders. At the national symposium on planning work held in July this year, their reactionary performance was extremely naked. At this meeting, the "gang of four" moved secretly and, in the guise of criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing, made trouble and fabricated rumors to confuse people. They slanderously accused the meeting,called by the State Council to study the long-range plans for the development of the national economy, of being the "source of the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts," and viciously attacked the leading comrades of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, thereby revealing their wolfish ambitions to usurp Party and state power.

In their bid to usurp Party and state power, the "gang of four" used the disruption of production as an important means of undermining the revolution. Where both revolution and production were carried out well, they stirred up trouble. Gnashing their teeth, the "gang of four" and their lackeys shouted in private: "Let us charge where smokestacks emit smoke," "wreck the production to hold them back." "Disrupting production in one factory will put a noose around the neck of the power holders," and "the loss is that of the state, the responsibility is that of the power holders, and the power is ours." This fully revealed their ferocious features as counter-revolutionaries.

These tactics used by the "gang of four" are extremely insidious and vicious. When you take charge of production, they accuse you of "using production to suppress revolution." After they have disrupted production,

they put blame on you and accuse you of "undermining revolution through undermining production." You just do not know what you ought to do, and you are wrong whether you do something or nothing. In short, they try by all means to put on you the labels of "erroneous line" and "capitalist roaders" and to finish you off with one blow, so they might take your place.

The "gang of four" are a bunch of out-and-out counter-revolutionary double-dealers. The "class struggle" they clamored for all the time was a wild attack by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, and the "revolution" they talked about all the time was aimed at overthrowing the red political power of the proletariat. To plunge the nation into chaos, they instigated incidents everywhere, confounded right and wrong and black and white and tried their best to upset people's thinking, upset the Party organization, upset the revolutionary ranks, and upset the normal socialist production order, so they could fish in troubled waters, seize power, and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the socialist economy into a capitalist economy and independent socialist China into a colony or semi-colony of imperialism and social-imperialism. They are the chief culprits in undermining the socialist revolution and construction, the typical representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and unrepentant capitalist roaders still on the capitalist road. They have done what the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists and imperialism and social-imperialism wanted but could not do. We must completely tear off their wrappings and expose their anti-Party, anti-socialist, anti-people and ultra-Rightist features to the light of day.

Carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng smashed the anti-Party "gang of four" with one blow, thus removing a big obstacle on our road of advance. The hundreds of millions of people are in high spirits, and their socialist enthusiasm which was suppressed by the "gang of four" is erupting like a volcano. Our cause is promising and our future is bright. Under the wise leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, we should stick to the Party's basic line, carry the struggle against the "gang of four" through to the end, consolidate and develop the victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution, conscientiously implement the series of principles and policies laid down by Chairman Mao and deepen the mass movements to learn from Tach'ing in industry and from Tachai in agriculture. We should maintain the same vigor, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same daring death-defying spirit we displayed in the years of revolutionary war, and carry our revolutionary work through to the end. We must vigorously grasp revolution and promote production. As long as we do all this, we will certainly be able to make good the losses caused by the "gang of four," build our country into a strong and modern socialist state before the end of this century, and push forward the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao.

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The "Gang of Four" Undermine Democratic Centralism with Intent To Usurp Party and State Power

by

Shih Chien (史建)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 3, 1976)

Democratic centralism is the organizational principle of our Party. The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao taught us: "Within the ranks of the people, we cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline; we cannot do without democracy, nor can we do without centralism. This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People")

Only by implementing democratic centralism can we effectively strengthen the Party's centralized leadership, bring into full play the role of Party organizations as fighting bastions, bring into full play the initiative and creativeness of the vast numbers of Party members and the people, and insure that Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies will be carried out. Similarly, only by implementing democratic centralism can we effectively prevent the criminal activities of bourgeois careerists and conspirators to split the Party. In the struggle against the opportunist and revisionist lines, Chairman Mao inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory on Party-building, formulated a series of principles and methods for our Party to implement democratic centralism, and applied it to building political power as the basic system for state organs. Under Chairman Mao's long nurturing, implementation of democratic centralism has become a fine tradition of our Party and state, guaranteed our Party's consolidation and growth, and insured the victorious development of our revolutionary cause and continuous strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. This is exactly why the "gang of four," to achieve their criminal aim of usurping Party and state power, frenziedly sabotaged democratic centralism. Thus, whether to uphold or to sabotage the Party's democratic centralism becomes an important part of our struggle against the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique.

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" ignored the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, defied Party discipline, acted perversely and did what they pleased, and completely violated this Marxist-Leninist principle of centralized and unified leadership of the Party.

By extremely wicked and vicious means they opposed and persecuted the great leader Chairman Mao, attacked and framed the respected and beloved Premier Chou, ceaselessly intrigued against Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, who was selected by Chairman Mao himself to be his successor, and tried their utmost to undermine the leadership of the Party Central Committee and revolutionary authority.

They did not heed Chairman Mao's words, wantonly tampered with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and even went so far as to forge Chairman Mao's directives. With ulterior motives, they put forward the slogan that "empericism is the current main danger," opposed Chairman Mao's scientific thesis that revisionism is the main danger, shifted the general orientation of criticizing revisionism, and pointed the spearhead at leading cadres who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They waved the banner of "criticizing the theory of productive forces" to sabotage the correct policy of grasping revolution and promoting production. They distorted the spirit of revolutionary rebellion, indiscriminately tried to "overthrow everyone," fanned up bourgeois factionalism, and instigated the bourgeoisie to attack the proletariat. Worse still, they even forced a so-called Chairman Mao's "death-bed adjuration" and worked in a big way to create counter-revolutionary public opinion for usurpation of Party and state power.

They established their own system inside the Party, in effect set up a separate Central Committee, and placed themselves above Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. They did not discuss things with the Political Bureau. In their own names they sent out letters, ratified documents, distributed materials and called meetings everywhere, challenging the Party Central Committee and wildly undermining Chairman Mao's strategic plans. On the eve of the Fourth National People's Congress, they secretly "form a cabinet" behind the backs of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. They unfolded clandestine activities and exchanged secret messages among themselves. They also instructed their followers to "quickly find" suitable candidates and "seize vital departments." They attempted to install their men in various departments of the Party Central Committee and the State Council and usurp the leadership of these departments. They willfully changed the decisions made by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee or while obeying them openly, defied them privately and went their own way. In the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, they refused to implement Chairman Mao's series of important instructions; instead, they used the mass media in their hands to stage a rival drama against the Party Central Committee, ferreted out so-called agents of Teng Hsiao-p'ing at every level, and usurped power in the name of criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

They set up clandestine liaison points, secretly gathered sinister materials against responsible comrades at the central level, poked their nose into everything everywhere, stirred up troubles, and attempted to overthrow a large number of responsible Party, government and army comrades at both central and local levels. They upset Party organizations at all levels and undermined the centralized leadership of the Party in various areas and units. Their henchmen blustered that "where the machine of Party organization is still running, there the situation is no good!" "Wrecking one factory puts a noose around the neck of the secretary of the provincial Party committee." This starkly exposed their insidious intent to usurp Party and state leadership.

They promoted sectarianism on a large scale and turned the localities and departments under their control into watertight and impenetrable independent realms, into their "gang's dominions." In these localities and

departments, they instituted private rules and regulations. They might impose a strict blackout on the instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, alter the Party's line and policies, do away with Party discipline and administrative orders. There was practically no Party leadership there! They became entirely bourgeois realms ruled by the "gang of four."

All facts show that the "gang of four" are big conspirators and careerists who have no regard for the leader of the Party, the Party's guiding ideology, the Party Central Committee, Party discipline and the laws of the country.

"Unconditional centralization and the strictest discipline of the proletariat are one of the essential conditions for vanquishing the bourgeoisie." ("'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 181) The centralization and unification of the Party is an important criterion for its political life, and an important guarantee for the implementation of its correct line. Among the Party, the government, the army, the mass organizations and cultural and educational institutions, and in the east, west, south, north or center of the country, it is the Party that exercises leadership in everything. After Chairman Mao's passing, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua represents the fundamental interests of the proletariat and the masses of the people, is of one heart with the masses of the people, and is wholeheartedly loved and supported by the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. It is the only leadership nucleus of our whole Party. Only by closely rallying around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, obeying the command of the Party Central Committee in all actions and achieving unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line can the whole Party continue to win victories in revolution. The "gang of four," in wildly persecuting the Party's leader, undermining the centralized and unified leadership of the Party Central Committee and violating Party discipline, wanted nothing less than to destroy the fighting command headquarters of the proletarian revolution and throw overboard the entire revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

The "gang of four" not only undermined the Party's centralization and unifcation but also seriously undermined the Party's democratic system. They "ran" a "steel plant" and a "hat /label/ factory," and with a club in one hand and a hat in the other, frantically attacked and persecuted revolutionary cadres and the masses and imposed a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

They vigorously practiced "letting those who are with us thrive and those who are against us perish." Those who joined with them and flattered them were lauded to the skies even if they had done nothing but sing a song, act in a play, turn in a "blank examination paper" or write a sycophantic letter, and given high positions and emoluments, while anyone who resisted and went against them was branded at will as "counter-revolutionary," "a capitalist roader," "a bad element," and so forth and subject to rabid counter-revolutionary suppression. When the Party branch and the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai brigade waged a resolute struggle against the criminal activities of the "gang of four" in trying to slash the Tachai red banner, Chiang Ch'ing flew into a rage, acted in a high-handed manner, and accused the Tachai people of "having been influenced by revisionism" and "being politically backward."

She was out to slash the Tachai red banner with a single swing of a hatchet and flatten the Tiger Head Mountain with a single kick. Because the film "Pioneers' extolled Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and touched the "gang of four" to the quick, they levelled the so-called ten accusations against it and determined to suppress it. A scenarist of the film, driven beyond the limits of forbearance, wrote to Chairman Mao and exposed the crimes of Chiang Ch'ing and company. Frenziedly striking back in revenge, Chiang Ch'ing brazenly alleged: "Those who disobey me disobey the Party!" This remark fully exposed their wolfish ambition to strangle democracy and usurp Party leadership.

They frantically stifled the socialist enthusiasm of the revolutionary masses and vainly attempted to bind the hands and feet of hundreds of millions of people struggling to transform nature and block the advance of the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants along the broad socialist road. When the masses of cadres and people in suburban Shanghai expressed a desire to learn from Tachai, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao said nonsensically: "Tachai cuts up mountains to build farmland, but we in Shanghai have no mountain to cut up" and arrogantly obstructed them from doing so. When the masses of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants wanted to criticize capitalism and build socialism in a big way, they /the gang of four/ alleged: "You are confusing the primary with secondary aims." They are the arch criminals sabotaging "grasping revolution and promoting production," and hangmen strangling the revolutionary initiative of the people.

Our Party's democracy is democracy under centralized guidance. "Centralism should be closely linked with democracy. Let us apply democracy, and so give scope to the initiative throughout the Party." ("Win the Masses in their Millions for the Anti-Japanese National United Front") Only by practicing democracy rigidly under centralized guidance will the Party's leading organs and the vast numbers of Party members and cadres bring into full play their creative power and sense of responsibility, being daring and good at raising questions, expressing opinions and criticizing shortcomings. Only thus will they, proceeding from the desire to cherish and help, supervise the leading organs and leading cadres, fulfill the Party's tasks dynamically, and consolidate and develop the Party. With years of nurturing by Chairman Mao, our Party has given full scope to the democratic style of work and practiced a high level of democracy under centralized and unified leadership. This has had the vital effect of assuring a stronger Party leadership, thorough implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the realization of the Party's fighting tasks and the destruction of the conspiratorial activities of bourgeois conspirators and careerists to usurp Party and state power. By undermining this fine tradition of the Party and its democratic centralism, the "gang of four" was out to wreck the basis of the Party's centralized and unified leadership, stifle the socialist enthusiasm of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, do away with the mass supervision over them, and achieve their criminal goal to usurp Party and state power and restore capitalism. Their perverse acts caused the righteous atmosphere to decline and the evil atmosphere to rise in certain areas and units and some Party members and cadres to be timid in taking up work, making suggestions or expressing opinions and even to have a sense of insecurity and suspect one another. This has brought about grave damage to the socialist revolution and construction.

Chairman Mao severely criticized the "gang of four" for stifling democracy and warned them not to set up two factories, the "steel factory" and the "hat factory," and not to label others at will. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Becoming opinionated and lecturing others at the slightest excuse is also a sign of not understanding Marxism-Leninism." When the "gang of four" styled themselves as the "proletarian iron and steel company," they, in fact, carried out an out-and-out bourgeois dictatorship. The more they prettified themselves and described the club they used to beat people as a "revolutionary golden club," the more they exposed their ferocious features--a human face and the heart of a beast. Lu Hsün once said: "I detest those who used to flog others with whips." "The reason is that, according to my experience, those who wear the mask of 'revolutionary' and unscrupulously brand others as 'enemy agents', 'counter-revolutionaries,' 'Trotskyites' and 'traitors,' are mostly not good. This is because they skillfully strangle the revolutionary national forces, disregard the interests of the revolutionary masses, and pursue private interest in the name of revolution. Frankly, I have even doubted if they are not sent by the enemy." What a pertinent remark by the proletarian revolutionary Lu Hsün! Aren't the "gang of four," including Chang Ch'un-ch'iao mercilessly denounced by Lu Hsün before, "false-revolutionary counter-revolutionaries" who used to flog others with whips, ingeniously strangled the revolution, and pursued private ends in the name of revolution?

Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao are a sinister counter-revolutionary gang, the typical representatives of the decadent and moribund bourgeoisie inside the Party, and unrepentant capitalist roaders still on the capitalist road. They rudely undermined the Party's democratic centralism with the criminal object of usurping Party and state power, turning our Party into a revisionist, fascist party and restoring capitalism in China. The history of our Party is not lacking in instances where chieftains of the revisionist line sought to achieve their evil ends by undermining the Party's democratic centralism. The "gang of four," inheriting the mantle of Wang Ming, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, have outdone them all in these respects.

The Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng very wisely and resolutely shattered at one stroke the counter-revolutionary plot of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power. This has greatly pleased the people, won their approbation and boosted their morale. The abnormal situation caused by the truculent and tyrannical behavior of the "gang of four" in Party life and in the political life of the people has disappeared like clouds swept away by the wind, and the atmosphere has been completely renewed. Our Party has become more united and stronger, the Chinese people are in higher spirits and more militant, and everywhere the vigorous development of socialist revolution and construction is evident. We must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's brilliant thinking on strengthening the building of the Party and his series of important instructions on criticizing the "gang of four," and thoroughly expose and criticize the crimes of the "gang of four" in undermining democratic centralism. We must rally most closely around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, and obey the Party Central Committee in all our actions. We must adhere to the principle of democratic centralism, uphold the Party's centralized leadership, give full scope to proletarian democracy, and carry forward the Party's fine tradition. We must strive to create "a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness." Unite to win still greater victories.

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The Radiance of Materialist Dialectics Illuminates the Fighting Journey

- In commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the publication of "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War"

by

Theoretical Group of the Military and Political College of the Chinese People's Liberation Army

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 3, 1976)

40 years have elapsed since the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao's brilliant work "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" (hereafter "Problems of Strategy") was published. Like a beacon, this great work has over the past 40 years illuminated the road of the Chinese people's revolutionary war, the road of our Party's and our army's triumphant growth. In the great struggle, now and in the future, it will always serve as a powerful ideological weapon for guiding the revolutionary war of the proletariat.

In this epoch-making work, Chairman Mao integrated the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of China's revolutionary war, penetratingly summed up both the positive and negative experiences of China's Second Revolutionary Civil War, sharply criticized the "Left" and Right opportunist military lines, and scientifically elucidated the Marxist concept of war. He incisively expounded the brilliant concept of waging a people's war on a vast scale by relying on the people, further clarifying that the Chinese revolution must take the correct road of establishing rural base areas, surrounding cities with the countryside and finally taking cities. As he explicitly pointed out,the Chinese Communist Party must exercise absolute leadership over China's revolutionary war. Its extremely rich and incisive content makes it a great work on Marxist-Leninist military theories. Engels pointed out: "The emancipation of the proletariat in the military field will likewise have its own manifestations, and it will create its own special and new methods of fighting." ("The Possibility and Outlook of War by the 1852 Holy Alliance against France," Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. VII, p. 562) In terms of the number of campaigns, the length of time, the scale of operations, the fierceness of struggle, the complexity of the circumstances, and the greatness of victory, the people's revolutionary war led by Chairman Mao was unprecedented in Chinese history and rare in world history. Chairman Mao created for the proletariat a whole set of scientific theories for studying and directing the revolutionary war, thereby greatly enriching and developing the Marxist-Leninist military teachings.

"Problems of Strategy" is a shining example of Chairman Mao's application of dialectical materialism and historical materialism to studying and guiding war. It is both a great military work and a great philosophical work. Like a red thread, dialectical materialism and historical materialism run through and permeate the whole work, which is full of materialism and dialectics on every question of how to study and direct war.

How should war be studied? This is a fundamental question of proletarian military science, one traditionally marked by a sharp antagonism

between materialist dialectics and idealist metaphysics. The devotees of the latter have always regarded the military theories of the landlord and bourgeois classes, past and present, in China and elsewhere, as unalterable redo and stuck to rules of the thumb, and all of them have suffered in face of the objective laws of specific wars. On the contrary, Chairman Mao kept to the Marxist line of cognition, proceeded from objective reality, and analyzed concrete circumstances in a concrete way, "fixing our attention on the characteristics and development of each /war/." He then found out its objective laws, integrated the subjective with the objective and successfully guided and directed the war. Chairman Mao pointed out in most explicit terms: "We must study not only the laws of war in general, but the specific laws of revolutionary war, and the even more specific laws of revolutionary war in China." "Without an understanding of the characteristics of China's revolutionary war, it is impossible to direct it and lead it to victory." Like any other things, war has specific laws of its own. Besides the common laws, that is, the general laws of war, it has different laws, that is, specific laws of war. Speaking in terms of war as the product of irreconcilable class contradictions, the highest form of class struggle, and continuation of politics by special means, war has its common and general laws. However, every specific war waged is concrete in nature and since wars have different class background and historical conditions and are waged in specific time, at specific localities, against specific targets and for specific political objectives, they necessarily possess different characteristics and specific laws. Chairman Mao, by persistently adhering to the viewpoint of materialist dialectics, exhorted us that Chinese Communists who waged China's revolutionary war on Chinese soil must not confine themselves to an understanding of the general laws of war but should devote themselves to a study of the specific laws of China's revolutionary war. In this way, the military science of the proletariat, established on the basis of objective reality, can become the revolutionary people's invincible weapon.

How did Chairman Mao apply materialist dialectics to the study of China's revolutionary war by integrating theory with practice and thus accurately master its objective laws? Chairman Mao comprehensively analyzed the four principal characteristics of China's revolutionary war at the time. These were: (1) China was a vast, semi-colonial country which was unevenly developed politically and economically and which had gone through a great revolution /of 1924-27/; (2) the enemy was big and powerful; (3) the Red Army was small and weak; and (4) Communist Party leadership and the agrarian revolution. He then emphatically analyzed the internal relationships among them and captured the essence of China's revolutionary war. Most penetratingly and dialectically Chairman Mao pointed out: Although the revolutionary force was weak, it had the Communist Party's strong leadership; small in number, the Red Army had the all-out support of the masses of the people; and although the base areas were small, they had great political power. The enemy, though powerful, was politically reactionary and corrupt and denied the support of the people; though his army was large, he was rent by a host of contradictions such as warlord seccession and internal wrangling; and though his territory was large, the ruling clique was not united, with each faction going its own way. Therefore, the fundamental law of China's revolutionary war was this: It was possible for the Red Army to grow and defeat the enemy, yet it could not grow very fast nor defeat the enemy quickly. This laid a correct theoretical basis for the victory of China's revolutionary war; at the same time, it forcefully refuted the Right and "Left" opportunist lines of every description.

In thoroughly implementing materialist dialectics, Chairman Mao, basing himself on the fundamental law of China's revolutionary war and the general situation in which the enemy was strong and we were weak, formulated a strategic line of active defense. The enemy was powerful, but at the same time he was decadent; being powerful was temporary but being decadent was basic. The Red Army was small and weak, but at the same time it was a newborn force; being weak and small was temporary and its essence was its invincibility. Therefore, strategically we must be on the defensive, but our defense must be active, not passive. We must link strategic defense with campaigns and operational offensives. In strategic defense, we must carry out offensive warfare in campaigns and combat operations, continuously weaken the enemy, strengthen ourselves, gradually alter the general balance of strength between the enemy and ourselves, so as to turn strategic defense into strategic offense and completely vanquish the enemy. This line of active defense, enunciated by Chairman Mao, penetratingly and vividly embodied the objective dialectics of the interdependence and mutual transformation under given conditions between defense and offense, this pair of contradictory elements. To implement active defense, Chairman Mao also put forward a series of simply defined military dialectics: Determine our strategic orientation correctly, oppose adventurism when on the offensive, oppose conservatism when on the defensive, and oppose flightism when shifting from one place to another; practice "pit one against ten" strategically and "pit ten against one" tactically, land oppose "pit ten against one" strategically and "pit one against ten" tactically; wage protracted warfare strategically and battles of quick decision in campaigns and operations, and oppose protracted warfare in campaigns and operations and battles of quick decision strategically; favor fluid battle lines and guerrilla and mobile warfare, and oppose fixed battle lines and positional warfare; uphold the strategy of striking with one "fist" in one direction at one time and concentrating forces to fight a battle of annihilation, and oppose the strategy of striking with two "fists" in two directions at the same time, dispersing the forces and fighting merely to rout the enemy; uphold a relatively centralized command, and oppose an absolutely centralized command, and so on and so forth.

Practice is the criterion for verifying truth. Looking back at our fighting journey over several decades, it didn't take long for the outwardly strong and powerful enemies, such as the Chiang Kai-shek dynasty armed to the teeth, Japanese imperialism, American imperialism, and social-imperialism to be defeated one after another by the great Chinese people and their soldiers. This amply shows the unquestionable correctness of Chairman Mao's political and military lines and the invincibility of materialist dialectics.

"Correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in the course of struggle." ("Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War") This precisely sums up the two-line struggle in the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, an outcome of the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian military line and Wang Ming's bourgeois military line. The anti-Party sectarian clique headed by Wang Ming did not understand the workers and peasants at all, nor did they know anything about waging wars or about the theory and practice of the Chinese revolution. However, they brazenly styled themselves "hundred percent

Bolsheviks." They rejected Chairman Mao's correct leadership, usurped the leadership of the Party Central Committee and pursued an out-and-out opportunist line. Opposing the integration of theory with reality, they refused to study the characteristics and laws of China's revolutionary war, or wholly copied the experience of foreigners and those before them and prostrated themselves before foreign dogmas, or completely divorced themselves from the practical experience of China's revolutionary war and subjectively conjured up various so-called "new principles." Placing defense and offense in direct opposition to each other, they regarded offense and defense in absolute terms, as having no relationship with each other. In action they showed themselves to favor adventurism when on the offensive, attack on all fronts and pre-emptive strike, and completely negate defense and retreat. When they had to be on the defensive, they became conservative, feared the enemy as if he were a tiger, set up defenses everywhere, made short swift thrusts, and fought defensive actions at every step. The theoretical basis of this opportunist military line pushed by Wang Ming was idealist metaphysics. As Chairman Mao most correctly and vividly revealed: "These theories and practices were all wrong. .... They were the theories and practices of hotheads and ignoramuses; they did not have the slightest flavor of Marxism about them; indeed they were anti-Marxist." The opportunist line pushed by Wang Ming almost brought the Chinese revolution to the brink of defeat, caused the loss of all revolutionary base areas except the Shensi-Kansu border region, reduced the Red Army from 300,000 men to several tens of thousands, reduced the Chinese Communist Party membership from 300,000 to several tens of thousands and lost practically all Party organizations in Kuomintang-controlled areas. At this critical hour of the Red Army and this crucial moment of the survival of the revolution, Chairman Mao made a great effort to turn the tide, promptly convened the Tsun-i Meeting of great historical significance, put an end to the domination of the Wang Ming opportunist line in the Party Central Committee, set right the revolutionary course, and saved the Party, the Red Army and the revolution. This was a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, a great victory of materialist dialectics over idealist metaphysics.

"Historical experience merits attention." Today, in reviewing the historical experience of our Party's struggle against the Wang Ming opportunist line, we are confronted with another great struggle--to completely expose and criticize the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, Chiang Ch'ing and Yao Wen-yüan. In former years Wang Ming viciously branded Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as "narrow empiricism," with the object of substituting the opportunist line for Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line. Now the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique picked up Wang Ming's tattered weapon from the dustbin of history and flaunted the ensign of opposing empiricism in a vain attempt to replace Chairman Mao's revolutionary line with a counter-revolutionary revisionist line and realize their criminal objective of usurping Party and state power. Facts prove that in betraying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, betraying the Chinese revolution and clinging to a reactionary ideological and political line, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" are identified with Wang Ming, being birds of a feather. Like Wang Ming, renegade, secret agent and chieftain of the opportunist line, Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao know nothing about work, farming and waging war, have neither truth nor the support of the masses, and are a group of bourgeois conspirators and careerists. To achieve the criminal objective of

usurping Party and state power and restoring capitalism, they are more rabid and blatant in practicing idealist metaphysics. They completely deny the objective laws of things and objective criteria, always overestimate their own strength and underestimate the strength of the people, regard themselves as the center, do what they please, confound right with wrong and black with white, bestow favors on those who follow them and strike down those who oppose them. They rabidly place themselves above Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, form their own system, and lord it over others. They follow the most reactionary subjective idealism, completely denying the law of the unity of opposites, mutilating the internal links of things and distorting their true features. They set revolution against production, politics against vocational work, democracy against centralism, putting the two aspects of a contradictory entity in complete opposition with each other and cutting them apart. In this way, they undermine not only revolution but also production, not only politics but also vocational work, not only democracy but also centralism. They aim at upsetting people's thinking and our country as a whole so as to usurp Party and state power in the midst of turmoil. In short, the "gang of four" are utterly ferocious, insidious and ruthless, giving expression to the hideous fascist features of a reactionary, moribund class. The counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by the "gang of four" has brought serious losses to our country's socialist revolution and construction cause. If they had succeeded, the Party would turn revisionist and the state change its color. The Chinese revolution would go through a major setback and Chinese history a major regression, while the Chinese people would suffer a catastrophe. The evil consequences of the Wang Ming opportunist line again appear before our eyes.

At this critical hour of the revolution, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, wise leader in whom Chairman Mao placed unbounded trust before his death and whom the people of the whole country love and esteem, inherits the great theory and great practice of Chairman Mao in defeating Wang Ming's and other opportunist lines. Displaying the lofty spirit and revolutionary acumen of a proletarian revolutionary, he leads the whole Party, the whole army, and the people of all nationalities throughout the country in smashing at one stroke the counter-revolutionary plots of the "gang of four," thereby once again shattering the fond dreams of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries in restoring capitalism in China. The Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng has removed a major bane to the country, created great happiness for the people, and made a great contribution for the Party. This is another great victory of decisive significance for the proletariat to defeat the bourgeoisie and Marxism to triumph over revisionism. It is also a great victory of materialist dialectics over idealist metaphysics. This great historic victory has once again eloquently confirmed: "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The triumph of materialist dialectics over idealist metaphysics and of Marxism over revisionism is an irresistible historical law.

Under the excellent situation in which this brilliant victory is warmly hailed by the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, we commemorate, with lofty revolutionary sentiment, the 40th anniversary of the publication of "Problems of Strategy." We must resolutely respond to the call of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, launch a new upsurge in the study of Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings, including a serious study of Chairman Mao's

philosophical and military writings, and use the proletarian world outlook and methodology to arm our heads and guide our participation in the three great revolutionary movements. This is of vital importance to our efforts to completely smash the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique, liquidate their counter-revolutionary revisionist line, further strengthen the building of our Party and our army, carry out Chairman Mao's behests and carry the socialist revolution through to the end under the leadership of Chairman Hua, our wise leader and the Party Central Committee. "Our naked eye is not enough, and we should seek the help of the telescope and microscope. The Marxist methods are the telescope and microscope in political and military matters." The radiance of Marxist materialist dialectics will surely and always illuminate our great journey of continuing the revolution.

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Deepen the Movement to Build Tachai-Type Counties Throughout the Country While Fighting Against the "Gang of four"

by

Chung Shan-nung (钟山农)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 3, 1976)

At last year's National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng made an important report entitled "Let the Whole Party Mobilize for a Vast Effort to Develop Agriculture and Build Tachai-Type Counties Throughout the Country" on behalf of the Party Central Committee. Guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, this report profoundly elucidated the far-reaching significance of the instruction on "learning from Tachai in agriculture" issued by our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, systematically summed up the rich experience of the movement to learn from Tachai over the past eleven years, adhered to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and made overall arrangements for building Tachai-type counties throughout the country. The report fully conveyed the common aspirations of the people throughout the country to persist in combating and preventing revisionism, to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to boost the national economy, to speed up the development of socialist agriculture--the foundation of the national economy, and to accomplish the four modernizations expeditiously. Currently, in the great struggle to thoroughly expose and criticize the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique, we feel extremely excited and inspired in recalling the fighting course over the past year and studying again Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report, and this further encourages us to take class struggle as the key link and make greater efforts to carry out the revolutionary mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country.

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng pointed out in the report: "Learning from Tachai in agriculture and building Tachai-type counties throughout the country is a great revolutionary mass movement to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialist agriculture with greater, faster, better and more economical results. Like the land reform, agricultural cooperation and people's commune movements, it is another great revolutionary movement in the rural areas." Therefore, it was replete with fierce struggles between the two classes, two roads and two lines from the very moment it started. Motivated by their criminal goal to usurp Party and state power, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, the "gang of four" left no stones unturned in interfering with and undermining this great revolutionary movement. The masses of cadres and people bitterly hated and resolutely opposed their perverted actions. Following the conclusion of last year's National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture, the "gang of four," clamoring that "there is not enough chaos in Kiangsu," tried to first upset the countryside and undermine the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. Taking a firm stand against the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four," the masses of rural cadres and people in Kinagsu persevered in launching the movement to build Tachai-type counties and scored major victories. In the past year, another eight counties have joined the rank of advanced counties in learning from Tachai, a number of counties which fared well in learning from Tachai have begun a

new march toward building Tachai-type counties of a high standard, and most of the other counties have undergone many new changes. The mass movement to study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works is deepening throughout the countryside of the province. Many new socialist things have emerged. The revolutionary spirit of leading cadres at all levels has been carried forward to the fullest extent, the socialist consciousness of the masses of people has been markedly enhanced, and the orientation and road for developing agriculture have been further adjusted. Farmland capital construction is unprecedentedly vast in scope and the features of mountains and rivers have greatly varied. Agricultural production has registered big general increases. Grain output in 24 counties rose by more than 50 million catties over last year, including eleven counties which reported an increase of more than 100 million catties. A number of advanced units which turned low yield into high yield and a high yield into a still higher yield and sustained large increases over the years have emerged. Greater development has also been made in cotton, live hogs, and other diversified undertakings. All of this is forceful rebuff to the effort of the "gang of four" to sabotage the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, showing that no reactionary force can stop the revolutionary current of building Tachai-type counties throughout the country.

One year of practical experience proves that the decisive condition for building Tachai-type counties throughout the country is to resolutely implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, that is, to fully act on the spirit of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report at last year's National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture. Only thus is it possible to lead and unite the hundreds of million of peasants to fulfill this great political task. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report, examined and approved by Chairman Mao, fully manifests Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, principles, policies and methods of work; it is a programmatic document for guiding the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and a powerful ideological weapon for mobilizing hundreds of millions of peasants to march in building Tachai-type counties throughout the county. Contrary to Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report, what the "gang of four" advocated is a counter-revolutionary revisionist line which is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They frantically undermined the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country. At that time, they forbade Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/ to carry this report by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. They frenziedly attacked the report as "revision of Marxism-Leninism" and "promotion of the theory of productive forces." The anti-Party element Chang Ch'un-ch'iao even went so far as to order that the report must not be transmitted. They tried to completely negate and overthrow this important report by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and to create confusion in people's thinking. Apart from talking nonsense at last year's National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture, Chiang Ch'ing, this typical representative of the bourgeoisie inside the Party, twice came to Tachai in an attempt to slash the Tachai red banner raised by Chairman Mao himself. In Kiangsu, the sabotage activities of the "gang of four" were resisted, Chiang Ch'ing's speech was neither transmitted nor implemented. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report was resolutely defended, publicized and implemented with great fanfare, being made known to every Party member, every cadre and every commune member. As the spirit of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report was grasped by the broad masses, it helped unify the thinking of all Party

members, cadres and people throughout the province, and they thus united more closely on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and marched in step in learning from Tachai. It was also because the spirit of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report was acted on that the line, orientation and methods adopted were correct and clear, and this explained why it had been possible to surmount the interference and sabotage by the "gang of four" over and over again and promote the rapid progress of the movement to build Tachai-type counties.

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng explicitly pointed out in the report: "The key to building Tachai-type counties lies in the county Party committees." This showed profoundly the utter importance of building the leading groups of county Party committees along revolutionary lines. The county Party committees are leadership and executive organs. Whether the ideological and political line of the county Party committees' leading groups is correct or not has a vital bearing on the progress of the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. An important reason why Hsiyang became a Tachai-type county in 3 years is that the county Party committee has a leading group capable of persistently taking class struggle as the key link, upholding the Party's basic line and consistently continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. There are 15 counties in Kiangsu which have achieved fairly good results in learning from Tachai, and their common experiences also testify to this. There is hope for building Tachai-type counties when the leading groups of county Party committees adopt a correct ideological-political line, persistently practice Marxism, uphold unity, adhere to the principle of being open and aboveboard, cherish the lofty aspirations and high aims of building big socialist agriculture, adopt realistic methods of leadership on the basis of the mass line, and are capable of leading the county's masses to wage resolute struggles against revisionism, capitalism, the bourgeoisie inside the Party, class enemies in society and against nature. This is why the Kiangsu Provincial CCP Party Committee and many prefectural Party committees have expended considerable energy on stepping up the building of leading groups of county Party committees.

Judging by Kiangsu's actual practice,to conduct rectification of styles of work at regular intervals is one of the effective measures to grasp well the building of leading groups of county Party committees. Educated and tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution, most of the members of leading groups of county Party committees throughout Kiangsu province are good or relatively good. But since the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines is inevitably reflected in the leading groups, a small number of persons have serious problems, but generally speaking, chiefly they do not have a high consciousness of continuing the revolution, and there are various problems in their way of thinking. In the course of work, some comrades fail to take class struggle as the key link and do not criticize revisionism and combat capitalism with sufficient vigor; they are also timid in building socialism in a big way, their thinking still remaining at the stage of democratic revolution. Some comrades become conceited when they achieve something, but lose heart in the face of difficulties. Others want only to lead a comfortable life and develop bureaucratic styles of work. In view of this practical situation, the provincial Party committee has conscientiously grasped the rectification of the styles of work of county

Party committees. In the course of such rectification, leading groups of county Party committees conscientiously study the Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, penetratingly criticized revisionism and capitalism, and expose contradictions and shortcomings in the light of reality and by the standard of Tachai-type counties. They actively develop the ideological struggle, adjust their ideological and political line, and constantly heighten their consciousness of continuing the revolution. However, the "gang of four" did their utmost to undermine the building of leading groups of county Party committees by frenziedly pushing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. On the one hand, they alleged that the rectification campaign meant "directing the spearhead downward," that is, at the cadres, in an attempt to negate the rectification campaign and drive a wedge between cadres and the Party. On the other hand, they did what they wanted in the course of criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beating back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, to ferret out capitalist roaders at every level. They sent people out everywhere to speak for them, branding the overwhelming majority of leading cadres as democrat revolutionaries and capitalist roaders as "a variant of democrat revolutionaries" in an attempt to finish off by one blow a large number of leading cadres who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and to destroy the leading groups of county Party committees. In opposition to such fallacies trumpeted by the "gang of four," the Kiangsu Provincial Party Committee unequivocally pointed out that unless the problem of a number of comrades whose thinking remained at the democratic revolution stage was solved, it would be impossible to build socialism in a big way or lead the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. But this, after all, was only a problem of political consciousness and ideological understanding. One must firmly believe that most of the comrades with this ideological problem could solve it in the course of the rectification campaign and must under no circumstances be labelled recklessly or finished off by one blow. Our Party has traditionally adopted the method of rectification to educate the cadres in ideological and political line. The purpose of a rectification campaign is to educate the cadres properly, and not direct the spearhead downward. No matter how the "gang of four" smeared and attacked us, Kiangsu as a whole has not wavered in its resolve to do well the task of rectifying the style of work of county Party committees and has indeed produced fairly good results in this regard.

Practice shows that rectification of the style of work is a widespread Marxist education movement. Through it, leading groups of many county Party committees in Kiangsu have increased their consciousness of the need to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and the "squads" have become more united and more effective than ever in grasping class struggle and led the people throughout these counties to march in broader strides in learning from Tachai. Most of the comrades who previously had this or that ideological problem have completely changed their mental outlook, raised their consciousness of continuing the revolution, and actively joined the front rank of the movement, taking the lead to learn from Tachai and guiding others to do the same. Chiangyin County for years failed to make good progress in learning from Tachai, and its farm output was stagnant. By developing ideological struggle in the course of rectification, the county Party committee produced a leading group boldly grasping class struggle, criticizing capitalism and building socialism in a big way, and established a revolutionary style of study that links theory with practice. They stick to "three-togetherness,"

consciously restrict bourgeois rights, and see to it that things which the masses ought to do are done first by cadres, that things which should be done at the lower level are accomplished by the county Party committee, and that things to be done by the "squad" of the county Party committee are done first by the first and second secretaries. With the county Party committee taking the lead in making revolution, followed by cadres at all levels, the poor and lower-middle peasants have become more energetic. Building a Tachai-type county becomes in the true sense a conscious action of the people of the entire county. With the socialist revolution in respect to the superstructure and the economic base deepened still more in the county, new things have grown steadily, and people, the land and output have changed. This year's grain output has increased by more than 130 million catties. It has taken only one year to build a Tachai-type county.

Building Tachai-type counties entails the need to persistently carry out education on the Party's basic line. In his report Comrade Hua Kuo-feng stressed: "To carry out in depth education on the Party's basic line in the countryside is the basic guarantee for building Tachai-type counties." To build a Tachai-type county requires that every commune and brigade in the county must adhere to the Party's basic line like Tachai does, continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and develop socialist agriculture with greater, faster, better and more economical results. In the countryside, the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines is still very acute and complex. Only by carrying out education on the Party's basic line with great fanfare, relying on the vast numbers of rural cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants as well as other commune members, criticizing revisionism and capitalism on a mass scale, and striking at the sabotage activities of a small handful of class enemies will it be possible to basically raise the socialist consciousness of the rural cadres and masses, to resist revisionism wherever it appears and fight against capitalism wherever it emerges. Only thus will it be possible to insure the development of agriculture along socialist lines, continually consolidate and expand the rural socialist positions and fulfill the task of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship at the grassroots level. But the "gang of four" stepped forward and tried its best to oppose this. Chang Ch'un-ch'iao frantically ranted: "Who knows whether the education on the Party's basic line is correct or not." He forbade the sending of work teams and education on the Party's basic line. Brushing the gang aside, the Kiangsu Provincial Party Committee followed the spirit of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's report and last year assigned over 50,000 cadres in the province to form work teams to assist the grassroots units in unfolding education on the Party's basic line. The remarkable achievements made in this powerfully rebuffed the allegations of the "gang of four" in deprecating education on the Party's basic line and smearing the work teams.

To conduct education on the Party's basic line, it is necessary to keep a firm grip of the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads and strictly distinguish between and correctly handle two different types of contradictions. Motivated by their intense hatred for socialism, a handful of class enemies in the countryside have never ceased their sabotage activities. Some have wormed their way into the collective economy, practicing capitalism under the signboard of the collective. Influenced by class enemies and old ideas, some among the people are eager to practice capitalism.

Therefore, to conduct education on the basic line, it is necessary to take class struggle as the key link and arouse the masses to strike at the sabotage activities of class enemies and the capitalist forces. Moreover, the method of persuasion and education should be used to criticize capitalist tendencies, help basic-level rural cadres raise their political consciousness and lead the peasant masses to take the socialist road with resolve. Waving red flags to oppose the red flag, the "gang of four" paid lip service to revolution but actually opposed it. They paid lip service to class struggle, but actually they used it to cover the bourgeois attack on the proletariat. They desperately opposed education on the Party's basic line for the express purpose of protecting their counter-revolutionary social basis. The Party committees at all levels in Kiangsu resisted and overcame the interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," and firmly led the masses to criticize revisionism and capitalism. They severely dealt with those who committed graft and theft and engaged in speculation according to prescribed policies. They patiently educated and persuaded the Party members, cadres and the masses in the rural areas to earnestly overcome the general capitalist trends among them. Meanwhile, local problems in regard to the orientation and road of agricultural development were solved in close connection with the actual condition of the struggle between the two classes and two roads in the countryside, by first tackling them within the Party and the collective economy and bringing the urban and rural areas together in doing so. This resulted in uniting more than 95 percent of the cadres and masses, forging a common will to build socialism and further adjusting the orientation and road for agricultural development.

Carrying out education on the Party's basic line also requires firm execution of the Party's rural economic policies for the present phase. The "gang of four" pretended to be more revolutionary-minded than anyone else. In the name of restricting bourgeois rights, they clamored that the Party's rural economic policies for the present stage had become out-dated. Like Liu Shao-ch'i who stirred up the "communist wind" and Lin Piao and Ch'en Po-ta who advocated accelerated transition to communism, they attempted to upset the policies, the rural areas and the proletarian power so as to facilitate their usurpation of Party and state power and restore capitalism. The Party's rural economic policies for the present stage reflect the demands of the Party's basic line, manifest the spirit of restricting bourgeois rights, take into account the interests of the state, the collective and commune members as individuals, and basically are compatible with the level of development of the current rural productive forces and the degree of consciousness of the masses. Correct implementation of the rural economic policies is conducive to adhering to the Party's basic line and arousing peasants' socialist enthusiasm. In the course of carrying out education on the Party's basic line, it is necessary both to seriously conduct communist ideological education and to correctly enforce the Party's economic policies. "Policy and tactic are the life of the Party." When the Party's policies are implemented, peasants know what they ought to do. An important reason why the "gang of four" failed to achieve their criminal plot to disrupt Kiangsu is that education on the Party's basic line has been grasped and the rural economic policies have been followed positively and prudently throughout the vast countryside. This is also a vital factor for the smooth progress of the movement to build Tachai-type counties on the mass scale.

Since building Tachai-type counties throughout the country is a revolutionary movement to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in developing socialist agriculture, this makes it necessary for us to adhere to the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production" in the struggle to build Tachai-type counties. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng taught us in his report: "We must guide the socialist enthusiasm shown by the cadres and masses in the course of criticizing capitalism to the drive to develop socialist agriculture." Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. The development of agriculture will spur work in all fields. One of the important tasks in building Tachai-type counties is to speed up the development of agriculture so that agricultural modernization will more effectively spur and insure the modernization of industry, national defense and science and technology and greatly strengthen the material basis of being prepared against war and natural disasters and doing everything for the people and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The "gang of four" slandered the vigorous building of socialism as manifestation of the "theory of productive forces" and brandished a big club everywhere to sabotage our efforts to grasp revolution and promote production. On their instructions, some people openly vilified a speech delivered by a leading central comrade at an on-the-spot conference on rice production in the south expounding Tachai's basic experience as "a specimen of the theory of productive forces," attacked Kiangsu's effort to increase production as "a result of practicing the theory of productive forces," and threatened the workers and peasants who stuck to their production posts "not to put powder on the face of capitalist roaders." But, no matter how the "gang of four" tried to suppress them, the masses of cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants in Kiangsu, under the leadership of Party committees at various levels, kept persevering in grasping revolution and promoting production without letup or wavering.

As between revolution and production, the former takes the leading position. It is a law that only by grasping revolution, grasping class struggle and learning the basic experience of Tachai will it be possible for socialist agriculture to develop and leap forward. However, to push production forward, it is also necessary to do much practical and concrete work in organizing production. It is necessary, under the guidance of the Party's basic line, to take class struggle as the key link to spur the struggle for production and scientific experiment and to undertake the three great revolutionary movements simultaneously before production can be pushed forward. Having drawn a five-year plan for building Tachai-type counties, Kiangsu since last winter has vigorously grasped farmland capital construction, fertilizer production and the building of an agricultural scientific and technological force. It has vigorously grasped grain and cotton production and the development of a diversified economy. It has vigorously developed the "five small" industries at county, commune and brigade levels and pushed forward mechanization of agriculture. It has adhered to the general policy of developing the national economy by taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor. It has energetically grasped production of raw materials and fuels. It has striven to produce as much as possible steel products, coal and capital as well as farm machines, chemical fertilizer and insecticides in support of agriculture. The first year in building Tachai-type counties is also a year that witnesses big strides in agricultural development. Relying on the masses and through self-reliance and hard work, we have brought about great changes in the natural environment and greatly

increased agricultural production. Counties with a relatively low level of production in the past have moved fast. Haimen County this year has increased grain output by 20 percent and now ranks among advanced counties in similar areas. Counties with relatively high production records before have also moved forward. Wuhsi County, which achieved a per-mow grain yield of 1,492 catties last year, has surpassed the "two-thousand" mark this year. Places that have been increasing production by large margins over the years have likewise reported marked production increases. Such'ien County, which increased grain output by an average of 80 million catties annually over the past 6 years, has again increased the grain output by a rather big margin. Matter can turn into spirit, and vice versa. Learning from Tachai in agriculture has generated the spirit of revolution plus perspiration, and this in turn has strengthened people's confidence and determination to build Tachai-type counties.

Party committees in all parts of Kiangsu, in the course of building Tachai-type counties on a mass scale, lead the masses of cadres and people to wage a sharp struggle against the "gang of four." The fight against the "gang of four" is one against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, the bourgeoisie inside the Party, and the counter-revolutionary sinister gang, and the result is an excellent situation characterized by the rapid development of the movement to build Tachai-type counties throughout the province. We must rally most closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, penetratingly expose and relentlessly criticize the "gang of four," continue to settle accounts with their towering crimes in sabotaging the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and build Tachai-type counties, wipe out their poisonous influence, further implement Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's important report at the National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture, deepen the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country, and strive for still greater victories.

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The Whole Party Should Go in for Agriculture in a Big Way

by

Lung Yüan (陇原)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 3, 1976)

Driven by the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and to build Tachai-type counties, a high tide of the whole Party going in for agriculture in a big way has basically taken shape in Kansu province. This is a solid fruit of arming the whole Party with Chairman Mao's brilliant thought of taking agriculture as the foundation for the development of the national economy, an important achievement of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's summing-up report at last year's National Conference on Learning from Taichai in Agriculture which penetrated deep into people's hearts. It can be foreseen that with the deepening of the struggle to expose and criticize the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique and the elimination of the interference and sabotage by the "gang of four," this high tide will surely develop further.

For the entire Party to go in for agriculture in a big way and develop agriculture rapidly is an extremely vital problem in socialist revolution and construction. Before the liberation, agriculture in Kansu was very backward, farming was crude, and grain output was merely a little over hundred catties per mow. Though there was greater development in production after the liberation, interference by the revisionist line plus a weak foundation and bad natural conditions caused the rate of development to fall far short of the needs of the country and the people. In our effort to build Kansu into our country's strategic rear and a strong anti-revisionist outpost, whether it is possible to speed up the development of agriculture has become an extremely acute problem. In view of this, the respected and beloved Premier Chou instructed us in 1973: Agriculture in Kansu must undergo a major change within three years. Premier Chou's earnest expectations greatly animated the people of Kansu, and a mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture with the short-term goal of effecting a major change in three years was quickly launched throughout the province. Last year, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, issued the call "let the whole Party mobilize for a vast effort to develop agriculture and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country," which provided a still greater impetus to the vigorous development of this movement. Through the painstaking efforts of the cadres and people of the whole province, the outlook of Kansu's agriculture has undergone a greater change. In 1974 it became self-sufficient in grain, no longer requiring state allocation of grain as it did for a long time in the past. Last year there was an all-round bumper harvest in agriculture and the highest level in history was recorded. It began to make a contribution to the state. This year, though natural calamities were serious, grain production still overfulfilled the state plan, and it continued to make a contribution to the state. Meanwhile, the collective economy of the people's communes has been further consolidated, the construction of irrigation facilities in the fields has acquired a definite foundation, and the acreage of yield protected against drought and waterlogging has increased considerably. The capacity of industry to aid agriculture has been greatly strengthened. Party

committees at all levels have further accumulated valuable experiences in directing agriculture. All of this has provided favorable conditions for faster development of agriculture. After the downfall of the "gang of four," in particular, the revolution has surged forward and production displayed a new look. Manpower devoted to farmland capital construction rose drastically from 1,830,000 persons in the last ten-day period of October to more than 2,600,000 persons in the first ten-day period of November. In the same period the acreage thus affected increased sharply from 330,000 mow to 760,000 mow. Now, like the rest of the country, Kansu is full of vitality and faces bright prospects ahead.

To unfold in depth the mass movement to learn from Tachai and build Tachai-type counties and to change as quickly as possible the backward outlook of agriculture is a great revolutionary movement, which is bound to encounter desperate resistance from class enemies, the bourgeoisie inside the Party in particular. In order to usurp the Party and state power, subvert the dictatorship of proletariat and restore capitalism, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" utilized the power they usurped and the mass media they controlled to seriously harass and disrupt the effort to develop large-scale socialist agriculture. When we mobilized the whole Party to go all out to develop agriculture, they immediately put on us the hat as followers of the "theory of productive forces." When the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants went all out to build socialism and produce more grain for the state, they /the gang of four/ instigated people to make the slanderous charge of "creating a material basis for the revisionist line." Since last winter and this spring, in the name of criticizing Teng and beating back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, they attempted, with an ulterior motive, to suppress the rising tide of the movement to learn from Tachai and build Tachai-type counties. Their intrigues and disruptive actions were resolutely boycotted and opposed by the vast numbers of Party members, cadres and masses in Kansu. The revolutionary people deeply understand that to develop socialist agriculture, consolidate the socialist position in the countryside and build as fast as possible a socialist new countryside with modern large-scale agriculture is a brilliant idea pointed out to us by the great leader Chairman Mao a long time ago, and an important task for our socialist revolution and construction. The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao had consistently attached great importance to the problems of agriculture and the peasantry. He not only formulated for us the line and general and specific policies for the socialist transformation of agriculture, led the Chinese peasants to embark on the broad road of socialism, and brought up the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He also formulated the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism" and the general policy for the development of the national economy by "taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor." Chairman Mao's great theory and the great practice of socialist revolution and construction in our countryside clearly demonstrate that taking class struggle as the key link, keeping to the socialist road and speedily developing agriculture are prerequisites for the proletariat to win over the bourgeoisie and socialism over capitalism, and for "being prepared against war and natural disasters and doing everything for the people," and embody the thorough execution of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Whether to

attach great importance to the problem of agriculture and to favor large-scale development of socialist agriculture is a vital yardstick for judging a Communist as to whether he is genuinely for true socialism and how much he thinks about it. The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four," confounding right and wrong and black and white, vainly attempted to disrupt the mobilization of the whole Party to tackle agriculture on a grand scale and the mass movement to build Tachai-type counties, and to subvert our effort to develop socialist large-scale agriculture. This thoroughly exposed them as a bunch of pests harmful to the state and the people.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The most fundamental requirement for the whole Party to develop agriculture in a big way is to have a firm grip of the question of line, which holds the key to the success or failure of the revolution as well as to success or failure in building large-scale socialist agriculture. Executing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line will spur agricultural advance; departing from it will result in agricultural stagnation or even regression. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is the lifeblood for the development of socialist agriculture. Since the founding of the People's Republic, the road of agricultural development in Kansu has been uneven and tortuous, every step forward being accompanied by a fierce struggle. In the 17 years before the great cultural revolution, grain production had been at a low level. With the great cultural revolution and especially since 1974, things have changed considerably. In 1974 and 1975, grain output of the whole province rose by an average of over 20% annually; per-unit-area yield in 1975 increased by 160 catties over 1966. Such sharp contrasts before and after the great cultural revolution dramatically illustrated the need to have a correct line in order to change the backward outlook of agriculture. Hence, for the past years, especially after the National Conference on Learning from Tachai, widespread education on the Party's basic line has been unfolded in the rural areas of the province, with the "key link" leading the "secondary issues," thereby speeding up the process of building Tachai-type counties and promoting the development of agricultural production.

County Party committees play the key role in building Tachai-type counties. They are both leadership and executive organs. Whether the leading group of a county Party committee is revolutionized and whether the ideological and political line of the county Party committee is correct has a vital bearing on the development of the learn-from-Tachai movement in the whole county. With a revolutionized leading group and a correct ideological and political line, a county Party committee will be able to lead the leading groups of communes and brigades and the cadres and the masses in the county to mobilize and take the right path to learning from Tachai, so that advanced will become more advanced and the backward become advanced. Tempered and tested in the great cultural revolution, most of the leading groups of county Party committees in Kansu are good or relatively good. However, there are also a number of leading groups which do not have a correct line or style of thinking, while a few bad elements have wormed their way into some leading groups. Therefore, it becomes extremely necessary to adjust the leading groups of county Party committees in accordance with the basic principles set by Chairman Mao, "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire," and in line with the five requirements for successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

Since the National Conference on Learning from Tachai, on the basis of the demands put forward by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng in his summing-up report at that conference, we have grasped the rectification of workstyles of county Party committees and carried out ideological and organizational rectification of the leading groups of county Party committees through "four criticisms and three investigations" (i.e., criticize revisionism, capitalism, the world outlook of the coward and the lazy, and the erroneous ideas of conceit and complacency and indifference to progress; and investigate whether revisionism and capitalism have been seriously criticized, whether the lofty ambition and will to build socialism on a large scale have been set up, whether the leading cadres have really gone to the grassroots units to work, to take the lead in making revolution and doing labor, in short, whether real efforts have been made to learn from Tachai). After such rectifications, the leading groups of county Party committees have heightened their consciousness of continuing the revolution and taken the lead in study, revolution, and labor, paying attention to grasping the line and major issues during work, insisting on the basic principles of "three dos and three don'ts," and pushing the penetrating development of the learn-from-Tachai movement. Take Wuwei county for example. In the past, certain persons of the leading group of the county Party committee seriously violated Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies, colluded with the capitalist forces in the community in stirring up trouble, and caused unrest both inside and outside the Party. As a result, the movement to learn from Tachai could not be developed, production stagnated, and every year grain had to be bought from the state. Through rectification and basic line education, the problems besetting the leading group of the county Party committee were solved and this suppressed the ill wind in the community, adjusted the line, and raised the socialist enthusiasm of cadres and the masses. The backward outlook was quickly changed, the grain output attained the "Program" target for years running. It became a county in the province which contributed the largest amount of grain to the state and was made one of the advanced counties in learning from Tachai in the country. Experience proves that keeping to the basic line education is the basic guarantee for building Tachai-type counties and speeding up the development of agriculture.

Out of their secret counter-revolutionary purposes, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" made every effort to oppose the basic line education, twaddling: "Who knows the basic line education is correct or not?" They accused the masses who criticized capitalism and revisionism during the basic line education of "directing the spearhead downward," "opposing corrupt officials only, but not the emperor," and "interfering with the main orientation of criticizing Teng." They vainly attempted thus to negate the basic spirit of the National Learn-from-Tachai Conference and strangle the great revolutionary mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and build Tachai-type counties. The masses of Party members and people in Kansu saw through their intrigue and resisted the evil wind they stirred up. The work teams for basic line education were not withdrawn, and more and more people joined them. The movement gained increasing momentum. Many leading cadres took the lead in going to the lower level, where they worked and conducted investigations, grasped typical models, and helped the movement to develop in breadth and depth. Since last winter and this spring, the province has dispatched a total of more than 22,000 cadres to the countryside to unfold the Party's basic line education with much fanfare. The first group of cadres visited 29% of the communes and 24% of the brigades. The second group is now doing a similar task. The brilliant flowers of ideology

and politics will naturally bear solid economic fruit. In the movement, as class struggle is taken as the key link and two different types of contradictions are strictly distinguished and correctly handled, the lid of class struggle has been lifted in some counties, communes and brigades. Such problems as relating to power held by bad elements, degenerates, people who were eager to take the capitalist road, good old people and people whose thinking got stuck at the stage of the democratic revolution were solved discriminately. Revolutionized construction of leading groups at every level was strengthened ideologically and organizationally, capitalism was criticized and disruptive activities by class enemies were rebuffed. The class superiority of poor and lower-middle peasants was established, and the class struggle consciousness and initiative of building socialism on a big scale of the masses of cadres and commune members were enhanced. The orientation of developing agriculture was adjusted and the socialist position in countryside consolidated.

For the whole Party to go in for agriculture in a big way and change the backward appearance of agriculture, it is also essential to arouse the masses to make hard efforts to improve conditions for agricultural production. Agricultural production is an "open factory," influenced to a great extent by natural factors such as the weather, the soil, hydrology and topography. The transformation of the backward outlook of agriculture depends in a large measure on the degree of improvement of the agricultural production conditions. Therefore, it is essential to tackle cropland capital construction as a great socialist undertaking. The natural conditions of agricultural production in our province are rather bad: the land is not level, the loss of soil is serious, and the threat of drought is great. No doubt, it is impossible to speed up the development of socialist agriculture if these conditions are not completely altered. To do so, it is essential to persist in the mass line of the Party, foster the revolutionary spirit of building socialism on a grand scale, and re-arrange the landscape by one's own hard efforts. The masses are the real heroes. As long as we have confidence in the masses, rely on them, give a free rein to them and merge with them, we will have the revolutionary courage and resourcefulness of the proletariat, overcome whatever difficulties there are, and perform a miracle on earth. In the past, T'ungwei county was a notorious "old backward" county. For ten years it cried out for the need to learn from Tachai, but its landscape remained unchanged. Why? The most basic reason was that the county Party committee leadership failed to see the vast socialist enthusiasm latent among the masses. The saying that "T'ungwei is beyond cure" got into their heads. After the National Learn-from-Tachai Conference, they changed their erroneous thinking, plucked up the revolutionary spirit, and led the masses to work hard. After a few months of strenuous efforts, they completed at one stroke capital construction on more than 120,000 mow of cropland. This year grain production reached the highest level in history, and a surplus was achieved. The practice of buying back grain for more than twenty years was terminated, and progress was made in forestry, livestock breeding and subsidiary occupations. Maotien Brigade in this county had a river-harnessing and land reclamation project which for the past eight years had not been started. This year, with the masses mobilized, more than 36,000 cubic meters of earth were removed and 82 mow of irrigated land were created in just one month. As numerous facts prove, "the masses of people have infinite creative power." Once the masses are mobilized, we will have the wisdom, resources and courage, and be able to make high mountains bow and rivers give way. The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao

"gang of four" attacked our efforts to build socialism on a big scale as "only pulling the cart without looking at the road," and this was a vicious slander against the socialist initiative of the broad masses. Their attack and slander could not stop the march of the hundreds of millions of the masses, but only exposed their ugly features as enemies of the people!

To transform agricultural production conditions requires a long-range and a short-range plan more conformable to reality. By formulating an agricultural development program according to the local characteristics, we will be able to work out coordinated arrangements and rational utilization of manpower, material and financial resources, allowing the leaders and masses to have a head for figures, knowing what they should do this year and next, what to do first and later. When the objectives are clear, there will be united efforts with singleness of purpose. In this way, the direction will be clear, the determination great, methods many and the results good. The masses will work harder and harder and more and more efficiently. For the past years, especially since the National Learn-from-Tachai Conference, Party committees at various levels in Kansu have generally drawn up plans for farmland capital construction on the basis of the principle of taking soil improvement and flood control as the center and carrying out comprehensive treatment of mountains, rivers, farmland, forests, and road-building and in light of local conditions. In the course of implementing the program, they have paid attention to key projects and concurrently to building of a farmland capital construction force, so that work will be attended to all year round, great efforts will be made every year, new projects will be started annually, there will be new changes every year and farmland capital construction will continue to be developed.

To put agricultural development in the first place, it is essential to "resolutely shift the work of industrial departments onto the orbit of taking agriculture as the foundation." For industry to support agriculture and use machinery and modern technology to equip agriculture is an essential measures of speeding up agricultural modernization and promoting the development of socialist agriculture; it is also an important way of strengthening the worker-peasant alliance and narrowing the differences between town and country. Through mutual support and coordination, industry and agriculture will be able to "consolidate the economic union between workers and peasants and guarantee proletarian leadership over the peasants." Some comrades who have the notion that "supporting agriculture has nothing to do with me" say: "You grow your wheat and sorghum, I make gear and spring," and even go so far as to do something else at the expense of agriculture. In the course of tackling agriculture on a big scale, Kansu criticized such erroneous thoughts and stressed that all trades and professions and all departments should in their work resolutely take agriculture as the foundation, turn to the countryside, and place supporting agriculture and the rural collective economy in the first position. Through the practice of supporting agriculture, many comrades also recognize the harm of belittling agriculture, and so they have more consciously given positive and maximum aid to agriculture in respect to manpower, material, technology and finance, displaying vast zeal in doing so. The worker comrades say rightly: "A tree has two flowers; industry and agriculture belong to one family. Speeding up agricultural modernization is our tremendous responsibility." At the present moment,

in Kansu more than 140 factories, mines and other enterprises have linked up with 35 counties, more than 120 communes and more than 200 commune- and brigade-run enterprises. Small teams supporting agriculture can be seen everywhere, contributing their strength to changing the backward agricultural outlook of Kansu. For industry to support agriculture promotes the development of agriculture as well as promoting the development of industry itself. Before the great cultural revolution, the farm machinery industry in Kansu was very backward, basically farm machines had to be supplied by the state. Now, except a number of huge farm machines, basically all other machines can be produced in whole sets. Spurred by industry supporting agriculture, industry as a whole has gained rapid development. Last year, the total value of industrial production in the province increased by 2.66 times over pre-cultural revolution days. The facts prove that Chairman Mao's policy of "taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor" is extremely wise and correct. Carrying out this policy will make for mutual promotion between agriculture and industry and guarantee over-all upsurge of the national economy.

The great leader Chairman Mao called on us with great expectancy: "Let us use our hands to work hard and arduously to change our world, to build our still very backward countryside into a booming paradise." Chairman Mao's call will forever drive us forward. The 18 million people of Kansu are determined to rally most closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Hua Kuo-feng, relentlessly criticize "the gang of four," keep to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies, grasp revolution and promote production, further whip up a new upsurge in the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and build Tachai-type counties, have the whole Party mobilize to tackle agriculture on a grand scale and strive for complete transformation of the backward agricultural countenance!

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Running Forest Stations by Communes and Brigades Is a Good Way to Develop Forestry

- Investigation report on developing commune- and brigade-run forest stations in Chuchou County, Hunan

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 12, Dec. 3, 1976)

Chuchou County is a hilly area with "70% mountainous land, 10% water and 20% paddy fields." Here, in the past, everywhere were barren hills and truculent rivers, and the output of grain was very low. Since 1964, especially after the great proletarian cultural revolution, this county has resolutely resisted and removed the interference of the counter-revolutionary revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four." It has persistently taken class struggle as the key link, kept to the basic line of the Party, penetratingly unfolded the movement to "learn from Tachai in agriculture," earnestly carried out the policy of "taking grain as the key link of all-round development." It has scored remarkable achievements in having communes and brigades operate forest stations on a big scale, harnessing mountains and afforestation. In ten years, 620,000 mow of timber forests, 300,000 mow of economic forests of palm-oil trees and bamboo, and over 50,000 mow of tea leaves and fruit trees have been planted. All the communes and 95% of the brigades have built between them 440 forest, tea and fruit stations, having permanent specialized teams totally 15,000 people. Dense groves of trees flourish throughout the county, with stations linked together and agriculture and forestry promoting each other. Since 1971, grain output per mow has surpassed the "Program" target every year, exceeding the 1000-catty mark in 1975, thereby doubling the output in a decade. The mentality of cadres and the masses has been completely renewed, the socialist collective economy has continued to develop, and growing prosperity is evident in the countryside.

Practice fully demonstrates that for communes and brigades to operate forest stations is a good way to develop forestry by people's communes, a new thing on the forest front that has an important role to play in accelerating the development of forest production, building large-scale socialist agriculture, strengthening the collective economy, and consolidating the socialist position in the countryside.

The establishment of forest stations by communes and brigades further manifests the superiority of the collective economy of people's communes which are large in size and have a high degree of public ownership. In the past, collective forest production in Chuchou was undertaken with the production team as the unit. Due to the production teams' limited manpower, material and resources, it was impossible to map out a unified plan and carry out comprehensive management. The needs of large-area afforestation could not be met, and sometimes the contradiction between agriculture and forestry was also rather acute. Since forest stations were run by communes and brigades, the collective strength of people's communes has been brought into full play, a unified plan has been in force for the treatment of mountains, water, paddy fields, forests and road-building, and mass movements have been integrated with professional forces. Tracts of forests have been formed and grown, with picking and nurturing of seeds integrated. All links are closely knit. The scale of mountain harnessing and afforestation in the whole county has been expanding,

with increasingly good quality and faster paces. New forests created in the past ten years have grown seven times those before forest stations were run by communes and brigades. Where barren mountains stood before, a sea of forests has been formed, fully showing the vitality of commune- and brigade-run forest stations.

These forest stations are also an important part of commune and brigade enterprises. Since they were started in Chuchou County, forests have been properly managed all year round, and forest production and construction safeguarded. The county has now over 200,000 mow of fir; felling has begun on 50,000 mow. It is self-sufficient in bamboo. It has gradually provided the state with timber, bamboo, tea and fruit. According to an estimate based on existing forest acreage in the county, the income from forestry ten years later may exceed 40 million yuan annually, equivalent to 64% of the total annual income from agriculture and subsidiary occupations at present. This will not only increase the income of production teams, but also raise the income ratios of communes and brigades, accelerate the pace of farm mechanization, and benefit the gradual transition from small collective to the big. The Red Flag Brigade of Huanglung Commune which was the first to build a forest station was formerly an impoverished place with barren hills and lean soil. Since it built a forest station in 1966, it has created more than 4,700 mow of high-standard timber forest, its total income from forest and subsidiary products has exceeded 45,000 yuan. This sum has been used to purchase more than 30 units (pieces) of machinery, including generators, diesel engines and power-driven transplanters, and additionally to purchase one manual tractor for every production team. Thus it can be seen that operating commune and brigade forest stations in mountainous and hilly areas is an important material guarantee for promoting further development of the commune system.

The development of commune and brigade forest stations is beneficial to changing the backward appearance of small-scale production and using socialist ideology to educate and reform the peasants. Under the Party's leadership, commune members take to socialistic road, grasping not only "high-yield farms" but also "treasure mountains," making great efforts to build up commune and brigade forest stations and changing the rural appearance of the entire county at an unprecedented speed. In only ten years' time, nearly a million mow of barren hills were treated, and hundreds of thousands of mow of new forests have been created, fully revealing the uncontested superiority of socialism and the commune system over capitalism and small-scale production. The commune and brigade forest stations have thousands of commune members organized into a fighting collective, earnestly studying and practicing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and battling in the forefront of "transforming China in the spirit of the foolish old man who removed mountains." Through afforestation, they have transformed not only the natural world but also their subjective world in the course of struggle and promoted the revolutionization of their thought. Seeing the flourishingly new forests all over the mountains and the booming development of the collective economy as well as the infinitely bright prospects of socialism, the commune members say jubilantly: "Making the mountains green makes our hearts red." They love the collective and socialism even more and hanker after communism.

Commune and brigade forest stations are also good places for bringing up and tempering educated youths and for launching mass scientific experiment in forestry. In the course of building commune and brigade forest stations on a huge scale, the county has closely combined the movement of sending educated youth to mountainous and rural areas with afforestation and the building of large-scale socialist agriculture, both training people and fostering forests. Most of the commune and brigade forest stations are established in points where educated youth concentrate. While registering with production teams, they labor and live in the forest stations, taking forestry as the main occupation while also studying politics, culture and military affairs and practicing scientific experiment involving cadres, old peasants and educated youths. Educated and assisted by Party organizations of forest stations and the poor and lower-middle peasants, the masses of educated youths have been tempered by the three great revolutionary movements and become a vital new force for afforestation and building a new socialist countryside. Now, in commune and brigade forest stations, 172 scientific forest research centers and units and a spare-time forestry university have been established; forest research projects presently under way number more than 130. In the past few years, over 870 technical backbone elements with socialist consciousness have been trained, averaging two for each production brigade. They have played a good role in popularizing forestry science and technology.

The commune and brigade forest stations in Chouchu county have developed in the midst of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. They are the victorious outcome of the efforts of the people of the county to resist and eliminate the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, to persistently continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, earnestly carry out the Party's policies, and fully mobilize the initiative of the masses. The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" sent people to Chuchou to create chaos, willfully negate the revolutionary spirit of the masses of commune members in afforestation, and deprecate the success of the people of the county in setting up commune and brigade forest stations in the movement to learn from Tachai and the significance of these undertakings. Leaders of all levels and the broad masses in Chuchou, with the warmest solicitude of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and the all-out support of the Hunan Provincial Party Committee, waged a resolute struggle against the interference and sabotage by the "gang of four" and assured the smooth development of commune and brigade forest stations. In summing up the experiences over these years, there are the following main points:

1. Thinking has been rectified and the development of forestry promoted. Is it necessary for people's communes to harness mountains and carry out afforestation? Is it necessary to run commune and brigade forest stations? In the past, due to the interference of the revisionist line, some cadres in the county held the metaphysical view of setting agriculture absolutely against forestry. They were distressed by the sight of barren mountains, shook their heads at the mention of harnessing them, and regarded the "treasure mountains" as a big burden. Are "mountains" a burden or an asset? Huanglung Commune answered this question. In the winter of 1964, the commune, responding to Chairman Mao's great call, "Learn from Tachai in

agriculture," and driven by the socialist education movement, daringly assigned 24 commune members to establish a forest station on a range 10 li long. With the heroic spirit of changing nature and self-reliance, they brought with them their own tools and saplings and painstakingly created 10,000 mow of wooded land. At the same time, taking forestry as the main occupation, they followed the policy of developing a diversified economy and coordinating short-term and long-term needs. Their gross income from forest and subsidiary products amounted to nearly 100,000 yuan. The advanced deeds of Huanglung commune in building a forest station liberated people's thought and increased their confidence in transforming barren mountains. Through investigation and study, the county Party committee promptly summed up and popularized the commune's experience. Over the years, the leadership at all levels in Chuchou has organized the masses of cadres to repeatedly study Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of proletariat and Chairman Mao's directives such as "in agriculture, learn from Tachai" and "make the motherland green." They also criticized revisionism and capitalism, continued to raise their consciousness of continuing the revolution, set up the viewpoint of dialectical unity of agriculture, forestry and livestock breeding, and energetically pushed the development of commune and brigade forest stations.

2. Bearing firmly in mind the Party's basic line and persevering in criticizing capitalism. Operation of commune and brigade forest stations is pervaded throughout with the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads. Therefore, it is essential to take class struggle as the key link and keep to the socialist road. In 1965, Mingchao Commune set up three commune and brigade forest stations, but due to slackening of struggle against class enemies and capitalist forces, two were blown down by the capitalist evil wind. In the great cultural revolution, the county Party committee helped the Party committee of that commune earnestly study the basic line of the Party and organize its cadres and masses to criticize the revisionist line and capitalist trends, and strike at the disruptive activities of a small handful of class enemies. Once class struggle is grasped, good results are achieved. They not only re-built the two stations, but also built 13 brigade-run forest stations after 1970, with the wooded land covering more than 20,000 mow in all. This experience of Mingchao commune illustrates that only holding tightly to the basic line of the Party will it be possible to consolidate and develop the commune and brigade forest stations. In the course of operating these stations, the county also has paid attention to unified planning and adapting to local conditions in opposition to free planting. It insists on planned felling and combination of picking and fostering of seeds, and opposes indiscriminate felling. It insists on taking forestry as the main occupation in developing a diversified economy and opposes undertaking subsidiary production at the expense of forestry. And it upholds rational distribution and appropriate accumulation, and opposes distribution of all earnings. Party organizations at all levels strengthen the leadership over commune and brigade forest stations, place the work there on the daily agenda, constantly exchange experiences, promptly solve problems, and thus enable the commune and brigade forest stations to develop constantly along the socialist path.

3. Implement the Party's policies and fully mobilize the socialist initiative of the broad masses. The leadership at all levels in Chuchou county has paid close attention to combining the promotion of the communist

style with the implementation of the various rural policies of the Party while developing commune and brigade forest stations. These stations follow the system of "three-level ownership with the production team as the basis" in the people's commune at the present stage. Agreements have been properly drawn whereby they are subject to unified leadership and unified planning by the commune and brigades. The right to the ownership of the mountains remains unchanged, newly created forests belong to the commune and brigade forest stations, and the income is distributed proportionally. The short-term earnings of the forest stations are chiefly retained for expanded reproduction. Manpower of the forest stations is generally contributed by production teams on the basis of population and acreage of the land they hold, and the relative stability of these ratios is to be maintained. Members of the forest stations are both forest and farm workers. While the record of their work points is kept at the stations, they return to their production teams to participate in distribution. Their work points are slightly higher than those of commune members with equal labor capacity. Since the orientation is correct and the policies are implemented, commune members have become more energetic, and the forest stations have been operated with increasingly good results.

4. With professional personnel as the backbone, mass movements are launched. The achievements obtained by this county in rehabilitating mountains and afforestation over the past ten years and more are owed to the integration of professional personnel and mass movements. Professional personnel are the backbone force for afforestation. Rehabilitation of mountains and afforestation on a grand scale are possible only with a definite backbone force. But, given the presence of professional personnel, is it still necessary to carry out mass movements? Their practice demonstrates that only by combining professional personnel with mass movements is it possible to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in the development of forestry. The work force of commune and brigade forest stations in Chuchou only accounts for 7.5% of the total labor force. Unless it is integrated with a large-scale mass movement, it is impossible to carry out successfully large campaigns of a shock nature, nor is it possible to control the mountains and cover them with trees. For the past few years, they have utilized the breaks during busy farm seasons every year to concentrate the labor force of the communes and brigades to wage three major campaigns according to the requirements of land levelling in the autumn, sapling culture in the summer and planting in the winter and spring and in the light of the plans of the forest stations. They fulfill, with no time lost and according to quality and quantity prescribed, the tasks of mountain blasting, land levelling, deep digging for sapling culture, and tree planting on a crash basis. Moreover, with the professional personnel as the backbone force, a good job is done of picking and nurturing seeds and saplings, protection and management and technical extension, thereby considerably improving the quality of afforestation and speeding up the development of forest production.

When the extraordinarily happy news that Comrade Hua Kuo-feng became Chairman of the CCP Central Committee and Chairman of its Military Commission and the "gang of four" was smashed reached Chuchou, both the cadres and masses of commune and brigade forest stations in the county were overwhelmed with joy. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by the wise leader, Chairman Hua, they are determined to penetratingly expose and

relentlessly criticize the towering crimes of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four", deepen the mass movement of "in agriculture, learn from Tachai," operate the commune and brigade forest stations with still better results, and make greater contributions to the all-round development of agricultural production!

Joint Investigation Team of CCP Chuchou Municipal Committee, CCP Chuchou County Committee and the Forestry Bureau of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry

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